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HENRY. IV.

Surnam'd the Great **IXII^d** King of France

Died at Paris May 14. 1610. after

Reigning 21 Years.

John Adams 1772

M E M O I R S

O F

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

C O N T A I N I N G

The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH,
And his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH,

To which is added,

The TRYAL of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of
HENRY THE GREAT.

I N S I X V O L U M E S .

T H E F O U R T H E D I T I O N .

V O L . I I .

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S U M M A R Y

O F T H E

BOOKS contained in the SECOND VOLUME.

SUMMARY of the SIXTH BOOK:

MEMOIRS from 1592---1594. Conduct of Henry with regard to the Pope, Spain, the League, and the huguenots, after his abjuration. Another truce. Artifices of Spain. Barriere's attempt upon the life of Henry. The jesuits accused and cleared of this crime. Rosny begins a negotiation with admiral Villars, to disengage him from the party of the League. Fescamp surprized by a very extraordinary method. A dispute raised about this fort. Several cities surrender to Henry. Rosny's journey to Rouen: a detail of his negotiations with Villars. The character of that governor. Rosny is employed by Henry to effect a reconciliation betwixt the duke of Montpensier and the count of Soissons, and to break off the marriage of the latter with the princess Catherine. He visits the duchess of Aumale at Anet. A further account of his negotiations with Villars, Médavy, and others. The treaty with Villars, after many obstacles, concluded. Henry is received into Paris. Circumstances relating

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to this reduction. Several instances of the generosity and clemency of this prince. An accommodation with Villeroi. Rosny's third journey to Rouen. Villars sends away the deputies of Spain and the League. The ceremony with which Rouen was surrendered to the king. The conditions upon which Rosny consents to receive any gratuities. Villars comes to court. An instance of Henry's generosity. Lyons submits to the king, notwithstanding the endeavours of the duke de Nemours to the contrary. Poitiers, Cambrai, and other cities do the same. The taking of La-Capelle by the Spaniards. The siege of Laon commences. The affairs which oblige Rosny to return to Paris: his conversation with the cardinal of Bourbon: he supports the jesuits in their process with the university and curates of Paris: he returns to the siege of Laon. A farther account of the-siege. Henry's indefatigable labours there. A great convoy of Spaniards defeated by Biron. Rosny present at this rencounter. The king displeased with Biron. The Spaniards endeavour in vain to throw supplies into Laon.

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treaty. Services performed by the duke of Guise for his majesty. Character of Sancy. The story of Alibouft. Changes made in the council of the finances. Maxims and reflections relating to the finances. Henry declares war against Spain, contrary to Rosny's opinion: He is wounded by John Châtel: particulars of this horrid attempt; and the banishment of the jesuits. The motives which determine Henry to march into Burgundy. Rosny quarrels with the council of the finances. Deser-tion of the count of Soissons. Rosny insulted by the count's officers. A campaign in Picardy. The French defeated at Dourlens. Death of admiral Villars. Campaign in Burgundy glorious for Henry IV. Battle of Fontaine-François. Conditions upon which the Pope gives absolution to Henry. The conduct of Cardinal D'Ofsat examined. Henry goes to Picardy. Losses sustained there by France. The duke of Montpensier reveals to the king the plots of the chief noblemen of the kingdom. Bouillon is sent to London. Jealousy and hatred of the council of finances against Rosny.

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pointed one of the council of finances. Henry's irresolution upon this head, who at last places him in the council. The duke of Maienne concludes a treaty with the king, and comes to his majesty at Monceaux. Rosny goes to visit the generalities: calumnies of his enemies upon this occasion: his journey of great use to the king. Rosny's disputes with Sancy: he discovers the artifices and frauds of the council of finances. The assembly des notables held at Rouen. Reflections upon the states of the kingdom. Good counsel given by Sully to the king. The result of this assembly. The council of reason established, and afterwards suppressed. Rosny's labours in the finances.

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MEMOIRS from the year 1597---1598. Divisions at court. The Spaniards surprize Amiens. Rosny contrives the means of retaking this place: he is put at the head of the council of finances in the king's absence: his labours in the finances, and disputes with the council. The siege of Amiens, all the necessaries for which are supplied by Rosny. The protestants mutiny again, during this siege: their designs. Death of St. Luc. Henry promises Rosny the post of grand-master of the ordnance; but gives it to D'Estrées. Rosny made governor of Mante. The Spaniards attempt in vain to succour Amiens. It is taken. An account of Henry's letters upon different subjects. Enterprises after the siege of Amiens: some fail, others are executed. Negotiations for a peace. Henry IV. goes into Brittany. Cabals of the Calvinists to obtain a favourable edict. Henry gives audience to the English and Dutch ambassadors, who cannot prevail upon him to continue the war. Edict of Nantz. Henry's conversation with the duke of Bouillon. A singular conversation between Henry IV. and Rosny,

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Rosny, upon the dissolution of his marriage, and his passion for the duchess of Beaufort. Henry returns to Paris : goes to Picardy. Conclusion and ceremonies of the peace of Vervins.

SUMMARY of the TENTH BOOK.

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tion upon this subject. The clergy and parliament oppose the registration of the edict of Nantz; alterations made in it; assembly of the protestants; artifices of the duke of Bouillon upon this occasion: the edict registrated. The affair of Martha Broffier. Gratuities and employments given by Henry to Rosny. The strange deaths of the constable's wife, and of the dutchess of Beaufort: Henry's grief for the loss of the duchess: Rosny comforts him.



M E M M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K VI.

THE ceremony of the king's abjuration was followed by a deputation* of the duke of Nevers to Rome, who, together with the cardinal de Gondy, and the marquis de Pisany, were to offer the pope the submissions usual in such cases. Although this change was a mortal stroke for the league, the Spaniards and the duke of Maienne still held out: they endeavoured to persuade their partisans that there still remained resources capable of making it ineffectual; but they spoke at that time contrary to their own

* Clement VIII. refused to acknowledge and receive the duke of Nevers as ambassador, and would oblige the French bishops to go and present themselves to the grand inquisitor, pretending that they had no power to absolve the king. M. de Thou blames, with as much reason, the pope's inflexibility upon this occasion, as he extols the courage, prudence, and the whole conduct of the duke of Nevers, book 108. See tom II. Mem. de Nevers, MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, and in the historians mentioned above, the particulars of the embassies of Nevers and Luxemburg, and the negociations of father Seraphin Olivari, de la Clielic, of the abbots Du-Perron and d'Ossat, with the holy father. The pope still deferred a long time an absolution which he had a great desire to grant, and received very ill la Clielle, who presented to him the letters of Henry IV. Father Seraphin, who was present, and plainly perceived that the pope's anger was only feigned, said to him merrily, "Holy father, if the devil himself was to come, and ask an audience of you, and you had any hopes of converting him, you could not in conscience deny him it." This speech drew a smile from his holiness.

opinion, and this feigned confidence was only designed to obtain greater advantages from the king, before he was securely fixed on the throne.

THIS is not a mere conjecture only, at least with regard to the king of Spain, since it is certain that he ordered Taxis and Stuniga to offer the king forces sufficient to reduce all the chiefs of the league and the protestant party, without annexing any other condition to this offer, than a strict alliance between the two crowns; and an agreement, that the king should give no assistance to the rebels in the Low Countries. Philip II. judged of Henry by himself, and considered his conversion only as the principle of a new political system, which made it necessary for him to break through his former engagements. It may not perhaps be unuseful to mention here an observation I have made on the conduct of Spain, which is, that although before and after the death of Catherine de Medicis she had put a thousand different springs in motion, changed parties and interests as she thought most expedient to draw advantages from the divisions that shook this kingdom, the protestant party was the only one to which she never made any application: she has often publicly protested, that she never had the least intention to gain or suffer their alliance. It is by an effect of this very antipathy that the Spaniards have constantly refused the new religion admission into their states: an antipathy which cannot be attributed to any thing but the republican principles the protestants are accused of having imbibed. The king being fully convinced, that to stifle the seeds of schism in his kingdom, it was necessary to give none of the different factions occasion to boast that his power was at their disposal; and that to reduce all parties, he must be partial to none; he therefore steadily rejected these offers from Spain, and those which the duke of Maienne made him to the same purpose: but at that
very

very time appeared willing to treat with any of the chiefs or cities of the league which would surrender, and reward them in proportion to their readiness and services: and it was this prudent medium that he was resolved to persist in. Although he now professed the same religion as the league, yet his aversion to the spirit which actuated that party, and to the maxims by which they were governed, was not lessened; the very name only of the league was sufficient to kindle his anger. The catholic leaguers supposing that his abjuration authorized them to abolish, in those cities which depended upon them, the edicts that were favourable to the huguenots, the king caused them to be restored; and though in some places the leaguers had obtained the consent even of the huguenots themselves (determined to purchase peace at any price) for this purpose, yet the protestant party murmuring at it, Henry cancelled all that had been done to that effect *, and shewed that it was his design to keep the ballance even.

THE duke of Maienne, finding that in this last scheme, which he had believed infallible, he was disappointed as well as the rest, placed all his future dependence upon his old friends the Parisians, and neglected no method by which he might awaken their mutinous disposition. But so far was he from succeeding in this attempt, that he could not hinder them from discovering their joy at what had just passed at Saint Denis. They talked publicly of peace, and even in his presence; and he had the mortification to hear a proposal to send deputies to the king to demand a truce for six months, and they obliged him to give his consent to it. The truce of three

* The king, on the 12th of December this year, held an assembly of the protestants at Mante, in which he publicly declared, that his changing his religion should make no alteration in the affairs of the protestants. Mem. de la ligue, tom. 5. And the calvinists having asked many things of him, he told them he could not comply with their requests, but that he would tolerate them. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 164.

months, that had been granted them at Surêne †, had only inspired them with an inclination for a longer one.

THE king gave audience to the deputies in full council. The greatest number of those who composed it, listening to nothing but their jealousy of the duke of Maienne, whom they feared as a man that had the means in his power of purchasing favour and rewards, were of opinion, that no regard ought to be shewn to this demand of the deputies, because the person who sent them persisted in his revolt against the king, even after his abjuration. Notwithstanding the justice of not confounding the duke of Maienne with the Parisians, I saw that this advice was likely to be followed, and certainly it might have produced some terrible misfortune. I insisted so strongly upon the advantage of letting the people, already recovered from their first terrors, taste the sweetness of a peace which would interest them still more in the king's favour, that this prince declared he would grant the truce they demanded of him, but for the months of August, September, and October, only.

THE next day a prodigious concourse of the populace of Paris assembled at St. Denis. The king shewed himself to the people, assisted publicly at mass; wherever he turned his steps the croud was so great, that it was ‡ sometimes impossible to pierce through them: at the same moment, a million of voices cried, *Long live the king*. Every one returned, charmed with the gracefulness of his person, his con-

† Or at Villette, situated between Paris and St. Denis, as it is observed in the Memoirs of the league. It is dated the 31st of July, and was published the next day at Paris.

‡ "They are wild," said Henry, "to see a king." Etoile, *ibid*. In a letter which he wrote to mademoiselle d'Estrées, upon this or some other such occasion, he says, "A pleasant adventure happened to me at church; an old woman of 80 years of age, seized me by the head and kissed me; I was not the first who laugh'd at it; to-morrow you shall sweeten my mouth." *Recueil des lettres d'Henry le Grand*.

descension, and that popular air which was natural to him: "God bless him," said they, with tears in their eyes, "and grant that he may soon do the same in our church of Notre Dame in Paris." I observed to the king this disposition of the people with regard to him; tender and sensible as he was, he could not behold this spectacle without a strong emotion.

THE Spaniards had now recourse to their usual artifices. D'Entragues came to me one morning, and told me, that a Spaniard was just arrived at St. Denis, charged with dispatches of great importance from Mandoce, who had ordered him to make his applications, directly to me, being the only person who had any knowledge of the proposals which he had along time ago made to the king at Bearn, by Moreau and the viscount de Chaux. This Spaniard, whose name was Ordognès, or Nugnès, had been a domestic of d'Entragues, whose service he had quitted for that of Mandoce; d'Entragues corresponded, by his means, with the Spanish ambassador to the league: this is what I learned of this man by the recital, whether true or false, that d'Entragues made me. I did not confide much in this Spanish emissary, and less in d'Entragues, whose turbulent disposition I was well acquainted with; I received him therefore coldly enough, for I did not doubt but this was all a Spanish stratagem: but d'Entragues seemed so affected with my suspicions of his fidelity, and added so many assurances of the veracity of his Nugnès, that I permitted him to bring him to me that evening. The king, whom I informed of d'Entragues visit, had the same opinion of it that I had; however, he commanded me to hear what the envoy had to say.

D'ENTRAGUES did not fail to return at the time appointed, accompanied by the Spaniard, who after some vague conversation about the joy there was in the court of Spain for the king's abjuration, and a

great many protestations of kindness, which I had no reason to believe very sincere, at length told me, he had a commission to propose a marriage between the king and the infanta* of Spain, with some other articles, which he declared he had been ordered to explain only to the king, to whom he intreated me to present him. Henry being willing to hear him, I told Nugnès, without any ceremony, that since he came from so suspected a place, he must purchase the honour of an audience from his majesty, by submitting to a few precautions that would perhaps be a little mortifying. He thought nothing too hard. I therefore began to search him myself, and afterwards caused two of my valets de chambre to make a more rigid scrutiny about his person and cloaths; one of them having been a taylor, acquitted himself of this task with great exactness. When he came into the king's apartment I made him kneel, and held both his hands betwixt mine. He added nothing to the proposals he had already made me, but talked of the alliance between the two crowns in terms so specious and lofty, that the king, who at first would hardly listen to him, could not hinder himself from approving of the Spaniard's proposal, to send some person on whom he could rely, to enquire of don Bernardin de Mandoce himself, if what he had said could be depended on.

THIS deputation, which would have the appearance of a mystery, I could not approve of, and still less of the choice his majesty made of la Varenne for this occasion, a man remarkably vain †. The king,

* Clara Eugenia of Austria, second daughter of Philip II.

† We shall mention him again, in the sequel of these Memoirs; his name is William Fouquet, and he derives the title of la Varenne from the marquisate of la Varenne in Anjou, which he bought. His first employment was that of a cook to the princess Catherine, and his chief excellency in it was larding meat. If it be true, that this princess met him one day after his preferment, and said to him, "La Varenne, thou hast gained more by carrying my brother's
" poulets §§,

to whom I discovered all my apprehensions, thought he should avoid any appearance of an engagement or negotiation with Spain, by giving la Varenne no commissions in writing, and making the regulation of some boundaries upon the frontiers of Spain the pretence for his journey. La Varenne had no sooner received orders to depart, than he boasted of his commission, assumed the ambassador, and represented himself as such to Mandoce; who, on his side, paid him greater honours than he had required. This produced the effect which the Spaniards designed it should. It was for some time believed in England and Germany, that Henry sought to gain the king of Spain's friendship, and to break his alliance with the protestant powers; which might have produced an open rupture, if the king had not taken measures immediately to convince them of the contrary.

THE last resource the league now depended upon, and which was the cause that they always protracted an agreement or rupture with the Spaniards, was the horrid resolution of assassinating the king; a resolution with which they knew well how to inspire a

“ poulets §§, than by larding of mine,” one may conclude, that the means by which he gained the king's favour were not very honourable. He was first made cloak-bearer to this prince, afterwards counsellor of state, and comptroller-general of the post-office, and always lived in great familiarity with Henry IV. who ennobled him. La Varenne appointed a gentleman to attend his son. “ What,” said this prince to him, “ if thou hadst given thy son to a gentleman, I should have understood what you would be at, but to give a gentleman to him, is what I cannot comprehend.” They say likewise that la Varenne having obtained some favour of the king which the chancellor de Belliévre made some difficulty to grant him, la Varenne said to him, “ Sir, don't have such a high opinion of yourself: I would have you to know, that if my master was twenty-five years younger I would not change places with you.” See d'Aubigné, Geneal. de Sainte-Marthe. Mem. de m. le duc d'Angoulême. Mem. de Du-Plessis, &c. Menagiana. Cayet, *ibid.* tom. V. p. 276. speaks of the embassy of la Varenne into Spain, in a quite different manner from our Memoirs.

§§ *Porter les poulets*, in French, signifies to carry love-letters: the jest lies in the ambiguity of the word *poulet*, which signifies either a pullet or a girl.

small number of determined men, whose heads they had turned with the alluring prospect of great rewards, if they succeeded in their enterprize, and the hopes of meriting a crown of martyrdom if they sunk under it. Nature itself so recoils at the reflection, that those who boast of being the supporters of religion, should so impiously violate its most sacred injunctions, that this passage ought to be blotted from all histories; were it not likewise certain, that there is not any society of men, who bear the name of christians, that would suffer the imputation of authorizing such a crime; such, indeed, that no body of men, or even any individual, ought to be accused of it, without a proof too clear to be contested.

THE king had but too* many in those journeys he took from St. Denis to Châlon-sur-Marne, to Fort de Gournai, to Brie-comte-Robert, to Melun, and afterward to Meulan and Fontainebleau. Upon this article, the monks especially have contracted a stain which they will not easily efface. Henry, while at Melun, had like to have perished by the hand of one of these enthusiasts, whom the jesuits and capuchins every where suborned for that purpose. Amongst other informations which were sent him upon this subject, he received advice, that one of these villains had set out from Lyons †, with

* Cayet. Chron. Novena. liv. v. p. 280. speaks more positively of those conspiracies against the life of Henry IV. Marisot says, that a Flamand, called Avenius, came to St. Denis with a design to stab the prince, but observing with what devotion he behaved at mass, he threw himself at his feet, and implored his pardon; but afterwards, refusing his first intention, he was broke upon the wheel in the year 1593. Chap. 33.

† It was Peter Barrière; or Barre, a waterman of Orleans. Davila relates this fact a little differently, book iv. The Memoirs of the League accused a jesuit of Paris, and a capuchin of Lyons, of this bloody design, but name neither of them. De Thou says expressly, book cvii. that this jesuit was father Varade, rector of the college of Paris, and takes an opportunity from thence of inveighing most bitterly against the whole society. Mezerai, book lxii. speaks in the same terms, and thence shews, that he has only copied de Thou; but besides that the evidence of an enemy ought to be of no weight, it is
proper

a resolution to come thither and assassinate him. Fortunately, before he left Lyons, he declared his design in confession to a priest; who, terrified at this frenzy, revealed it to a gentleman of Lyons. This gentleman posted away immediately to get to Melun before the murderer, and described him so exactly to the king, from the picture the priest had drawn:

proper to observe here, once for all, that when the duke of Sully and the other calvinist writers lay such crimes to the charge of the jesuits, as well as to messieurs de Villeroy, Jeannin, d'Osat, &c. they only mean, that such or such a thing happened in consequence of the principles, writings, public disputations, and sermons, of the confederates; in a word, that it was owing to the wrong notions of the league; and to the spirit that governed them; and don't mean, that such a jesuit, or such a person, was the perpetrator or contriver of such an action. This will appear more plainly in the sequel of these Memoirs. See how we have explained ourselves on this matter in the preface of this work.

As to the fact related here, whatever de Thou, Cayet, book v. p. 240. and Mezerai say, it is certain, that Barrière being put to the rack, in order to extort from him the names of those who had solicited him to attempt the king's life, did not name father Varade; it is also certain, that this jesuit was not prosecuted at all; that he was brought into no manner of trouble during the whole course of this process; and that he remained in Paris even after the king had entered that city. When, in the following year 1594, Antony Arnaud, in his plea for the university, reproached the jesuits for the supposed crime of father Varade, those monks denied it, and the counsellor did not prove the charge. Hist. of the university of Paris, tom. vi. p. 884. Lastly, the king, in 1604, giving an answer to the first president du Harlay, who was representing to him, that it grieved the parliament to register the edict for the re-establishment of the jesuits, cleared them in particular upon the article which concerned Barrière, saying, that none of them were privy to that designed parricide. Mem. Chronol. and Dogmat. for the History of the church, tom. I. p. 28. Mess. de Thou, Cayet, and Mezerai, have then advanced a most notorious falshood, when they wrote, that father Varade had advised Barrière to kill the king. It was farther Seraphin Banchi who discovered the plot; and the gentleman who travelled from Lyons to acquaint Henry with it, and knew again Barriere at Melun, was called Brancaléon. Chronol. Nov. *ibid.* Henry IV. talking of this intended crime with F. Matthieu, his historian, told him, that the villain had at three different times an opportunity to kill him, *viz.* in a hunting match, when he was gathering some fruit from a tree, and in the church of St. Denis; and that Barriere, as well as Clement, had agreed with his accomplices to involve in his accusation a multitude of innocent persons, and particularly several French princes and noblemen. Matthieu, tom. II. book i. p. 150.

of him, that he was known and seized amongst the croud at Melun, confessed his intended crime, and received punishment for it. The king, ashamed even for his enemies, who by this wickedness discovered the true bent of their dispositions, equally alarmed with all these attempts against his person, and tormented with the precautions he was obliged to take, often complained to me in the most affecting manner of his uneasy situation.

HE would not have been unhappy if the behaviour of the catholics in his court had at least compensated for that of the catholics in the league; but the king's abjuration had produced no more change in them than the others, and they thought they were entitled to make him comply with their inclinations in all things. They bore with impatience the king's not breaking off all commerce with his old protestant servants, and openly murmured if he but conversed with any of them, especially with me. The apprehension of my bringing him back to his former religion affected them much less than their suspicions that, in those conversations I had with the king, I should prevail upon him to rectify the abuses in the government, especially the confusion of the finances. Henry, who was not yet in a condition to assert his authority, so far complied with their caprices, as to avoid all private conversation with the huguenots, resumed his conferences upon religion with the catholics only, and continued them at Andresy † and Milly †. I took this opportunity to ask the king's permission to go to Bontin, where I had grain to sell to the value of five or six thousand crowns. He granted it, and told me, that at my return he might

† And likewise, at Pontoise, and Fleury, a castle in Gatinois, belonging to Henry Clause, chief-justice in eyre. The Roman catholics who were there, were, according to M. de Thou, messieurs de Schomberg, de Villeroy, de Belin, de Revol, Jeannin, and de Thou himself, who gives us also to understand, that their discourses turned, more upon politics than religion.

‡ In Beaurais.

perhaps be able to form a more exact judgment of the state of his affairs, and that he would then talk farther with me.

I CAME to Bontin, with my wife, at a time when grain bore a very high price. All the great cities, taking advantage of the truce, hastened to fill their magazines, whatever might happen, and paid for what they bought with the money which the Spaniards had scattered throughout the kingdom. Spanish pistoles were then so common, that commerce was generally carried on in that money.

I HAD scarce sold half of my grain, when a letter the king wrote to me from Fontainebleau obliged me to return. He had, in my absence, opened three letters directed to me, from which he could draw no intelligence, because two of them, one of which came from madam de Simiers †, sister to Vitry, and a great friend of admiral Villars, and the other from la Font, were written in cyphers; and all that the third, which came from a man named Desportes, of Verneuil, contained, was, that he had something to communicate to me relating to the proposal I made him in my abbey Saint-Taurin of Evreux. The king, rigidly watched by the catholics, could only give me these letters, the contents of which I afterwards acquainted him with. Desportes was the agent employed by the baron de Médavy ‡ to treat of an accommodation with him, and the surrender of Verneuil. The letter from madam de Simiers, and that from la Font, turned only upon some favourable circumstances which now presented themselves, to engage Villars in the king's interest. But affairs soon took another turn with regard to him; the loss of † Fescamp so affected this governor, that for this

* Louisa de l'Hôpital-Vitry, wife to James Simiers, chief grocer of the stole to the duke of Alençon.

† Peter Rouxel, baron of Médavy, count of Grancy, lieutenant-general in Normandy, and counsellor of state, died in 1617. He was remarkable for an uncommon strength of body.

‡ A port and fortress in the county of Caux.

time he broke off all measures towards an accommodation. I was informed of it by letters from madam de Simiers and la Font, in answer to mine, at the very moment when, by the king's command, I was preparing to go and confirm Villars in his good resolution.

THE manner in which Fescamp was surprized is so remarkable, that it well deserves a particular recital here. When this fort was taken by Biron from the league, in the garrison that was turned out of it, there was a gentleman, called Bois-rosé*, a man of sense and courage, who making an exact observation of the place he left, and having concerted his scheme, contrived to get two soldiers, whom he had bound to his interest, to be received into the new garrison which was put into Fescamp by the royalists. That side of the fort next the sea is a perpendicular rock six hundred feet high, the bottom of which, for about the height of twelve feet, is continually washed by the sea, except four or five days in the year, during the utmost recess of the sea, when, for the space of three or four hours, it leaves fifteen or twenty fathom of dry sand at the foot of the rock. Bois-rosé, who found it impossible by any other way to surprize a garrison, who guarded with great care a place lately taken, did not doubt of accomplishing his design, if he could enter by that side which was thought inaccessible; this he endeavoured by the following contrivance to perform.

HE had agreed upon a signal with the two soldiers whom he had corrupted, and one of them waited for it continually upon the top of the rock, where he posted himself during the whole time that it was low water. Bois-rosé, taking the opportunity of a very dark night, came with fifty resolute men, chosen from amongst the sailors, in two large boats, to the foot of the rock. He had provided himself with a

*--- De Gouftiminil, or Goufminil, lord of the manor of Bois-rosé. See Chron. Novenn. bock v. p. 94.

thick cable, equal in length to the height of the rock, and tying knots at equal distances, run short sticks through, to serve to support them as they climbed. The soldier whom he had gained, having waited six months for the signal, no sooner perceived it, than he let down a cord from the top of the precipice, to which those below fastened the cable, by which means it was wound up to the top, and made fast to an opening in the battlement with a strong crow run through an iron staple made for that purpose. Bois-rosé giving the lead to two serjeants, whose courage he was well convinced of, ordered the fifty soldiers to mount the ladder in the same manner, one after another, with their weapons tied round their bodies, himself bringing up the rear, to take away all hope of returning; which indeed soon became impossible, for before they had ascended half way, the sea rising more than six feet, carried off their boats, and set their cable a floating. The necessity of withdrawing from a difficult enterprize is not always a security against fear, when the danger appears almost inevitable. If the mind represents to itself these fifty men, suspended between heaven and earth, in the midst of darkness, trusting their safety to a machine so insecure, that the least want of caution, the treachery of a mercenary soldier, or the slightest fear, might precipitate them into the abyss of the sea, or dash them against the rocks; add to this, the noise of the waves, the height of the rock, their weariness, and exhausted spirits; it will not appear surprizing, that the boldest amongst them trembled, as in effect he who was foremost did. This serjeant telling the next man that he could mount no higher, and that his heart failed him, Bois-rosé, to whom this discourse passed from mouth to mouth, and who perceived the truth of it by their advancing no higher, crept over the bodies of those that were before him, advising each to keep firm, and got up to the foremost, whose spirits he at first endeavoured

to animate; but finding that gentleness would not prevail, he obliged him to mount by pricking him in the back with his poignard; and, doubtless, if he had not obeyed him, he would have precipitated him into the sea. At length, with incredible labour and fatigue, the whole troop got to the top of the rock, a little before the break of day, and was introduced by the two soldiers into the castle, where they began to slaughter without mercy the centinels and the whole guard; sleep delivered them up an easy prey to the enemy, who killed all that resisted, and possessed themselves of the fort.

BOIS-ROSE immediately sent notice of this amazing success to admiral Villars, and thought the government of the citadel he had so dearly bought was the least reward he might expect. However, he heard that Villars, or rather the commandeur de Grillon*, had a design to drive him out of it. Amidst the first transports of his rage for this injustice, he delivered the castle of Fescamp to the king, whose conversion he had just been informed of. Villars, at this news, broke off the negociation which he had permitted madam de Simiers and la Font to carry on in his name, and sent forces to invest Fescamp. Bois-rosé, finding himself too weak to make a long resistance, called the king to his aid, who instantly set forward for Dieppe, and came to St Valery in Caux. When this hostility broke out, the three months truce was expired; but the king had been prevailed upon to prolong it for two or three months longer, upon the duke of Maienne's representation, that it was necessary he should have more time to settle an affair of such importance as his treaty, and that of the league, with the king. He failed not to exclaim against this violation of the truce, and sent the count of Belin, governor of Paris, to the king, to complain of it. Belin came to St. Valery, acquitted

* Thomas Berton, governor of Honfleur, and brother to Grillon.

himself of his commission, and demanded a farther prolongation of the truce for three months, which he said was no more than necessary for the duke of Maienne to make known his last intentions at Rome and Madrid, whither he had sent cardinal de Joyeuse* and Montpezat for that purpose. The king, who perceived he only wanted to amuse him, rejected the count of Belin's proposals; and, without listening to any more complaints of the action, which his enemies had been the first cause of, marched directly to Fescamp, forced the troops of Villars to retire, and provided this fortress with plenty of all things necessary for its security.

THE king, at his return to Mantc, being informed that the marquis de Vitry † was inclined to receive him in Meaux, to favour the good intentions of this governor, he came to Lagny, where all things were so ordered, that he made his public entry into Meaux ‡ on the first day of the year 1594. || La Châtre immediately followed this example, with the cities of Orleans and Bourges.

THE truce being at an end, the king laid siege to Ferté-Milon §. I would have taken this opportunity to finish the business that had carried me to Bontin, but his majesty commanded me to review some battalions of Swifs at Montereau**. I sent to madam

* Francis, the second of the seven sons of William de Joyeuse. Henry Des-Prés, sieur of Montpezat.

† Lewis de l'Hôpital, Marquis of Vitry.

‡ The duke of Maienne upbraiding Vitry for having betrayed him, in delivering the city of Meaux into the king's hands, Vitry said to his messenger: "You press me too much: you will at last make me speak as becomes a soldier. Suppose a thief had stolen a purse, and confided it to my care; if afterwards, coming to the knowledge of the right owner, I should restore it him, and refuse to give it back to the thief who had intrusted me with it, do you think I should commit a wicked and treasonable action? I did nothing else when I delivered up the city of Meaux." *Memoirs for the History of France, tom. II.*

|| Claude de la Châtre.

§ Between Meaux and Soissons.

** Montereau faut-yonne, in Champagne.

de Rosny to meet me at this place, from whence I intended to carry her to Mante: she waited for me there to no purpose. Two days before that in which I was to review the Swifs, I received new dispatches from madam de Simiers and la Font, which informed me, that the man (meaning Villars) was appeas'd, and that nothing hindered me from resuming the scheme that had been laid aside. This affair the king thought of such importance as not to admit of a moment's delay. The count de * Chaligny just then coming to the army with a passport for Paris, intreated the king to send a person whom he could depend upon, to conduct him to that city; and the king was willing that I should take advantage of this opportunity, which offer'd me the means of procuring a more certain knowledge of the designs of the duke of Maïenne and the league, and of getting to Rouen securely.

ACCORDINGLY, I accompanied the count de Chaligny to Paris; from whence, after having an interview with the duke of Maïenne, I went to Louviers, to the house of the sieur de St. Bonnet, about two leagues from Rouen: from this place I sent notice of my arrival to the persons who managed our interview; they came to fetch me the next evening, and introduced me into Fort St. Catherine, where captain Boniface received and treated me very magnificently while we waited for Villars, who came at night, attended only by one servant; I likewise having none but my valet de chambre with me. We did not part till after a conversation that lasted two hours, which left me entirely satisfied of the intentions of this governor. Our interview was conducted with the utmost secrecy; for, besides that the governors of the chief royalist cities in the neighbourhood of Rouen would not have failed, either through jealousy or self-interest, to cross the negotiation, and

* Henry de Lorraine, count of Chaligny, of the family of Moüy.

perhaps

perhaps have done something worse, as in effect they did, as soon as they had any suspicion of the affair; there were in this province a great number of forces, as well foreigners as those belonging to the league, over whom Villars had no authority, and which might in a little time be joined by such considerable supplies, as to make him repent of the measures he had engaged in.

I STAYED five days in Fort St. Catherine with the same privacy; during which time I had several conferences with Villars, and entered upon the principal conditions for an accommodation. Interest was not here the greatest difficulty to get over; he was less solicitous to gratify mercenary views, than to be convinced that the king, by treating with him, sought not only to gain the capital of a province, but to bind to his interests a man whom he knew to be equally willing and able to serve him. It has been already observed, what idea Villars had conceived of the king: as soon as my discourse had confirmed him in it, I could perceive the treaty to be in great forwardness; but I could not then go any farther, not having in writing the necessary powers for concluding it.

BUT to give a more perfect knowledge of this governor's character: his whole conduct was influenced by one or the other of two qualities that predominated in him, or was produced by their concurrence: these two qualities were, courage and integrity; the first inspired that elevated generosity, that inborn noble pride †, which in great souls is only a perception of their own worth, without the least mixture of mean vanity, or the intoxication of self-love; the second produces sincerity and truth, makes its owner incapable of artifice and surprize, and always ready to yield to reason and justice: he who unites these two qualities, has seldom any other fault

† M. de Thou, speaking of admiral de Villars, says, that he was of a harsh and insolent disposition, book ciii.

than being too quickly moved to sudden eruptions of anger.

SUCH was Villars: and what I have still to say concerning him will justify the truth of this character: there was too great a conformity between his disposition and the king's to suffer him to continue long in a state of enmity with him. The only difference between them was, that Henry, by often reflecting on the fatal effects of anger, by a habit acquired in a long course of misfortunes, by the necessity he was under of gaining friends; and lastly, by the native tenderness of his heart, converted his first violent sallies of rage into such † emotions as

† Here is a piece of private history, extracted out of the Memoirs of the life of the president de Thou, which proves what the author says here concerning the character of Henry IV. and which has also some relation to what had been said before upon the siege of Rouen. “ One day that Grillon came into the king's closet to excuse himself upon his being reproached, that his going backwards and forwards, to treat with the admiral, had afforded him an opportunity and the means of making that furious sally which has been mentioned, he passed from excuses to disputes, then fell into a passion and uttered blasphemies. The king, being exasperated at this behaviour, commanded him to go out; but as Grillon was coming back every moment from the door, and they perceived that the king grew pale with anger and impatience, they were afraid he would seize upon somebody's sword, and run the impudent fellow through. At last, being come to himself, after Grillon went out, and turning towards the lords who attended him, and who, with de Thou, had admired the patience with which he bore this insolence, he said to them, Nature has formed me passionate, but since I have been sensible of this fault, I have always endeavoured to guard against the distates of so dangerous a passion; I know by experience that it is a bad adviser, and am glad to have such good witnesses of my moderation.” It is certain, that his constitution, the fatigues he had endured, and the many vicissitudes of fortune to which he had been subjected, had given him a firmness of soul, that was proof against the efforts of rage, but not the allurements of pleasure. It was remarked, that while Grillon was thus contesting with him, marshal Biron, who was then in the king's room, sitting upon a trunk, pretended to be asleep; and as the dispute grew warmer, his sleep became more sound; though Grillon came near him in order to abuse him, and cried aloud in his ears, that he was a mangy snarling dog. The company were persuaded that the marshal only affected that deep sleep, that he might not expose himself to the brutality of such a fiery hot brained man; which would infallibly
“ have

were wholly under the government of his reason, and seldom appeared in his countenance or gesture, and still seldomer in his words.

‡ THE king was just come to Chartres, which place he had chosen ¶ for the ceremony of his coronation, when I joined him to give him an account of my journey, and to procure full powers for concluding the treaty with Villars. I had expected to depart again immediately, and did not imagine he would detain me with him ten or twelve days, which was really the case. He was then endeavouring to reconcile the count of Soissons and the duke of Montpensier, whose enmity was first occasioned by some disputes relating to the prerogatives of their rank as princes of the blood, and strengthened and confirmed by their competition for the same posts, the same governments, and, above all, for the same mistress, who was the princess Catherine, sister to the king. The duke of Montpensier had certainly the advantage in the king's favour, as well as in fortune, for he had immense estates; he appeared at the coronation with a train of four or five hundred gentlemen, while his rival could with difficulty maintain a dozen: but, poor as he was, without places, without governments, and disliked by the king ever since his escape from Rouen, he had this advantage over the duke, to possess intirely the heart of the princess. The countess of Guiche § was their confidant; she

“ have happened if he had seemed to hear him. It was also believed, “ that he was willing to leave the king all the fatigue of the conversation.”

‡ Feb. 17, 1594.

¶ Against a frivolous decree of the states of Blois, which annuls this ceremony unless it is made in the city of Rheims. It was decided, that his majesty should be crowned by Nicholas de Thou, bishop of this city, and not by the archbishop of Bourges, who claimed that honour as lord almoner; and that no use should be made of the *Sainte-Ampoule*, or holy bottle. See this ceremony described in the historians.

§ The same who had been mistress to Henry IV. but she was grown very fat, coarse, and red-faced. Journ. of the reign of Henry III. tom. i. p. 270.

was acquainted with all their secrets, managed their correspondence when they could not see each other, and so confirmed their mutual affection, that she made them both sign a contract of marriage, which the confusion only of the times prevented them from solemnizing.

His majesty was so passionately desirous of reconciling these two princes of the blood to each other, that the treaty with Villars was suffered to stand still, whilst he applied himself wholly to this affair. He had no regard to my remonstrance, nor to the danger there was in delaying it; he insisted upon my undertaking the difficult task of making them friends, conjointly with the bishop of Evreux, whom he had pitched upon at first, but found he was not able to succeed alone, in so delicate an affair. It is certain, I still preserved a great share of the count's esteem, but I was well acquainted with his insolent and haughty disposition, and that the fear only of seeming to yield to a rival who was his superior, would not only confirm him in his pretensions, but perhaps, induce him to form new ones. I will not tire the reader with a detail of the disputes, refusals, and sallies of ill humour which we were obliged to endure; we were more than once upon the point of giving up our task, as hopeless of ever accomplishing it: however, by the force of arguments, founded upon the king's command, with much patience, and many importunities, we prevailed upon the two princes to see each other, and to embrace. I was not to answer for the sincerity of this reconciliation: the article of their passion for the princess, and her marriage, which I carefully avoided mentioning, continuing still undetermined, left the seeds of division in their hearts: but this I looked upon as an insurmountable obstacle.

I WAS extremely well satisfied at having succeeded so far, without touching upon this article, and I now saw nothing to delay my journey to Rouen.

But

But I was deceived: the king's extreme solicitude to reconcile these princes, was with a view of obtaining another end, which he still more ardently desired; and this was the very same that I thought I had so prudently laid aside, the marriage of the princess his sister. Unfortunately I was the person his majesty fixed upon to accomplish this design. I was commissioned to get the contract of marriage, which I have just mentioned, out of the hands of the parties concerned; that, this obstacle being removed, the king, who was resolved to refuse the duke of Montpenier nothing he demanded, might be able to make use of his authority to prevail upon the princess to receive him for a husband, and by that means deliver himself from the apprehension of seeing a marriage concluded, which, though clandestinely, would be no less dangerous, since the count of Soissons would become his heir, whether he consented to it or not, and make use of his own riches against him: and if this marriage produced any children, as there was no doubt but it would, that would give his majesty, who had none, another cause for uneasiness.

I TREMBLED when I received the king's order for this purpose. I would have represented to him, that Villars would certainly engage himself in the enemy's party for ever, as would also Médavy, and several other governors in Normandy, unless I went immediately to those places. The affair was resolved upon; the king would not hear me, and only granted me what I asked to insure the success of his scheme, which was, to give no suspicion of my being employed in it, and to leave me the choice of what measures I thought necessary to take.

WHEN I was alone, and had reflected upon the nature of the commission which I had received, I confess I was thrown into the utmost perplexity. From the knowledge I had of the princess Catherine's disposition, from whom it was necessary to get this contract,

contract, I was convinced it was not in the power of human eloquence to make her approve of the king's designs with regard to her. How difficult a task! to persuade a woman, and a princess, to renounce the man she loved, and bestow herself upon one whom she hated. There was no probability of succeeding but by artifice. I endeavoured to vanquish my scruples by reflecting, that in deceiving the lady, though I did not consult her inclination, yet I was attentive to her real interest; and that it was to free the king and kingdom from the bad consequences that might attend her irregular conduct, which induced me to act in this manner. I flattered myself that the princess would one day think herself obliged to me, for having, by an innocent stratagem, prevented the ruin of her fortune, together with the loss of the king her brother's friendship. Specious as these reasons were, I cannot help confessing, that I did betray her; and this gave me pain. The impossibility of succeeding by any other means, and the hope that even she would one day pardon the deceit, and confess that I had done her a real service by it, was what at last determined me. As for the count, having no occasion to make any application to him, and being likewise but little attached to him, the respect that was due to his person ought to be laid aside, when it opposed the public utility, and what the service of the king my master required of me. However, this affair, in the end, was the cause of great uneasiness to me, which my scruples, and the reluctance I had to engage in it, should have preserved me from.

THERE was still another difficulty to be removed. I saw the princess very seldom, on account of the multiplicity of business in which I was engaged, and I knew her discernment too well to doubt that whatever measures I made use of obtain the contract in question, my unusual assiduity would, in a mind naturally distrustful, create suspicions which would
put

put her upon her guard against all I could say or get others to say to her: I therefore endeavoured to act in such a manner that she should prevent me herself. For this purpose I made use of the two Du-Perrons, who I knew (especially the youngest) were of a humour to make their court to the Great at the expence of betraying a secret. I was intimate only with the bishop of Evreux, the eldest: but one risques nothing in depending upon the good opinion all men have of their own merit; on this article they are always their own dupes first. I went therefore to visit the younger Du-Perron; I flattered him; I insinuated myself into his favour by feigning to impart secrets to him. He began to think himself a man of vast importance, and, through vanity, believed every word I said to him. When I perceived him intoxicated with self-admiration, I told him (with all the appearances of the utmost sincerity, exacting at the same time an oath of secrecy from him, which I should have been very sorry he had kept) that the king had imparted to me in confidence his intentions with regard to the princess; that he was resolved to marry her to the count of Soissons; and that some little difficulties, which still remained to be got over, prevented his majesty from publicly declaring his design. I was assured two days only would be sufficient for Du-Perron to get rid of this weighty secret, in such a manner that it would reach the princess Catherine. Accordingly, a moment afterwards he told it, with injunctions of secrecy, to monsieur de Courtenai *, and two other of the count of Soissons most intimate confidants. They ran to inform the count of it, and he the princess, and the countess of Guiche.

I DID not doubt but the princes, flattered with such an agreeable hope, would make me the first advances; I was not deceived. Going to take leave of her, as a man just ready to undertake a long jour-

* Gaspard de Courtenai,

ney, I had a complete proof of Du-Perron's fidelity. The princess received me with more than usual respect; and the countess of Guiche, not willing to lose so favourable an opportunity, after some conversation upon indifferent matters, made haste to bring the affair of the princess's marriage with the count, who was present, upon the carpet, and embracing me in transport of friendship, "See," said she to the lovers, "a man who is able to serve you." The princess then, addressing herself to me, told me, that I knew the count and her had always esteemed me greatly; and that she, in particular, would be extremely obliged to me, if I would assist her endeavours to restore herself to the favour of the king her brother. She spoke only these few words, and left the care of saying more to that insinuating and graceful air, which she knew better than any other woman in the world how to assume when she pleased. I seemed to be absolutely gained, and after thanking the princess for the honour she did me, I added, that if I might depend upon the secrecy of all that were then present, I would inform them of some circumstances which would not be indifferent to them. Women make no scruple to promise secrecy, though they have been always accused of performing that promise very ill. The princess and her confidant added an oath to the assurances they gave me; but it was not my design to explain myself farther at that time. I asked them for three days delay: they assisted me in finding an excuse for deferring my journey to Rouen; and I took leave of the company, who impatiently expected the time I had prescribed.

I WAS punctual to my appointment, and waited upon the princess at the expiration of the three days. I suffered myself to be pressed a long time before I would disclose my secret; at last, seeming to yield to the importunity of the two ladies, I told them, that having several times sounded the king upon the marriage in question, he at first shewed some reluctance

to it, without caring to explain himself farther ; but my earnest intreaties had at length prevailed upon him to open his heart to me upon this subject ; and he confessed, that far from feeling any repugnance to conclude this marriage, he thought it a very proper one ; and since that he had no issue of his own, he should be overjoyed to see the offspring of his sister and a prince of his blood, whom he would look upon as his own children : that the gentle and complying disposition of the count of Soissons and the princess was highly agreeable to him, but that he would find it very difficult to forget that the count had endeavoured to deceive him, and to obtain his sister without his consent. This speech, every word of which I had concerted before, produced the effect I designed it should : the two lovers and their confidant began to confess they had acted indiscreetly, and to condemn themselves for conducting the affair with such a spirit of independence. This was what I waited for : I seized this opportunity to convince them that I believed the offence might be soon repaired ; that the king was naturally kind, and easily forgot past injuries ; all that was now necessary to be done, was to behave in a quite contrary manner, to solicit his favour, seem absolutely dependent upon him, leave him master of their destiny ; in fine (and this was the most difficult point of all) sacrifice to him the contract they had both signed, as being what he was most offended with ; and not to fear giving him even a declaration in writing, in which they shall both bind themselves not to marry without his consent : after this condescension, I told them, on their side, I believed I might assure them, that in less than three months the king would himself prevent their desires, and unite them for ever.

I FOUND no difficulty in gaining credit to these assurances, and that very instant they promised to resign the contract of marriage, possibly because they thought it would be of no use to them, if the king, when he

became absolute master in his dominions, should not agree to it. The countess of Guiche said she had left it at Bearn, but would send for it immediately. They did not so easily yield to the declaration I demanded afterwards, and without which their resigning the contract signified nothing, since the parties might, whenever they pleased, renew it. This was the very argument I made use of to enforce the necessity of giving it; and I convinced them, that without this the king could neither depend upon their sincerity, nor be assured of their obedience. This article was strongly contested; and when at last, by the force of remonstrances, I obtained a writing, by which the princess and the count cancelled all promises that had passed between them, released each other from any engagement, and submitted themselves absolutely to the king's disposal, the consequence of this writing alarmed them, and they had recourse to a medium, without which it is probable the affair had rested as it was: this medium was, that I only should be intrusted with it, and should not suffer it to go out of my hands, not even though the king should require it. Luckily they did not add, that it should be returned to the princess, if matters took an unfavourable turn. I promised them upon my word and honour, that I would not part with it; which satisfied them entirely, and the writing was delivered to me, in form, signed by the princess and the count, and sealed with their arms. The king's joy for my success, which he durst hardly flatter himself with the hopes of, was considerably less, when he found the writing was to remain in my hands: he often intreated me earnestly to give it him; but finding, by my persisting to refuse him, that the obedience I owed him could not influence me to a breach of my promise, he no longer solicited me to it. The two lovers seeing the agreeable hopes I had given them

still

still unaccomplished, could not, as it may be well imagined, pardon me for having deceived them: the succeeding part of these Memoirs will shew how they repented it.

AFTER the conclusion of this affair, which I cannot remember without pain, I was wholly employed in preparing for my journey to Rouen. I was apprehensive, and not without reason, that so long a delay had absolutely broke all my first measures with admiral Villars: however, I obtained full powers † from the king to conclude a treaty, not only with this governor, but also with all the other governors and officers of the province. Just as I was going to set out, Desportes arrived, and stopped me once more; he was sent by the baron de Médavy to the bishop of Evreux, to desire that he would lend him his house of Condé for a little time; and also prevail upon me to come thither, that he might confer with me upon the conditions of his treaty, and that of Verneuil. I left Chartres, and came in the evening to Anet, madam d'Aumale having long earnestly solicited me to visit her there.

THIS lady, who had more understanding and prudence than her husband, conjured him incessantly to break with the league, and resign himself wholly to the king. She was sensible, that not only his duty and safety required that he should take this step, but his interest likewise; for the duke d'Aumale's ‡ domestic affairs were in such disorder, that there was no other way to avoid approaching ruin, but by being amongst the first that returned to their duty and obedience on this occasion, and were therefore distinguished with very considerable rewards. I alighted at an inn in Anet, and while my supper was pre-

† The present duke of Sully has the original of this full power in his possession, as likewise many of the originals of Maximilian de Bethune's letters upon this subject.

‡ Charles de Lorraine, duke of Aumale, who died in 1631, in his retirement at Brussels; his wife was Mary de Lorraine, daughter of René, duke of Elbeuf.

paring, went to wait upon madam d'Aumale, attended only by one page. To the joy that animated the countenance of this lady the moment she perceived me, she added the favour of a most obliging and friendly reception; and that she might not waste moments so precious, took my hand, and made me walk with her in those fine galleries and gardens which make Anet a most enchanting place: here she expressed to me her earnest desire to have her husband return to the obedience he owed his sovereign, and named the conditions upon which he might be induced to consent to it. I omit all the propositions, either approved or rejected, that passed between us. Hitherto I had seen nothing but what did honour to the master of a house truly royal; and I should have been ignorant of the deplorable extremity to which the duke was reduced, if she had not intreated, and even forced me to sup with her, and to stay there all night. After a repast, which we waited for a long time, and when it came was as bad as the attendance we had at it, I was conducted into a very large chamber, all shining with marble, but almost destitute of furniture, and so cold, that I could neither get heat, nor sleep in a bed, where the short narrow silk curtains, one thin coverlid, and damp sheets, were sufficient to benumb one with cold, even in the midst of summer: not able to continue in bed, I rose, and thought to secure myself against the inconveniences of my damp lodging by making a fire, but I could find no other wood to burn than green holm and juniper, which it was impossible to kindle: I was obliged therefore to wear my gown the whole night, by which means I was very early awake, and joyfully quitting so disagreeable a lodging, I went to join my attendants, the meanest of whom fared better, and passed the night more comfortably than their master.

I MADE myself amends for this fatigue at Condé, where I found every conveniency that could contribute

bute towards an agreeable reception: as soon as I arrived, I got into a good bed, Médavy not being expected till noon. At first he regulated his behaviour according to that notion, that in such a conjuncture as the present the most inconsiderable nobleman has a right to set ten times a greater value upon himself than he is worth; he performed his part perfectly well, by an air of false distrust, and an affected superiority, which he imagined would procure him some advantage. I contrasted his vanity with a frankness that shewed it to himself, and told him calmly, that if he waited till the great cities came to an accommodation, he, who had only Verneuil to offer, his sacrifice would immediately lose half of its value; and that afterwards perhaps his proposals would not be listened to, and no reward granted him. My sincerity forced him to be candid likewise; he appeared more reasonable, and we soon agreed: he only intreated me not to make the affair public till the end of March, because he had engaged to Villars to do nothing without his participation. He sent Desportes with me to Rouen, to pay this compliment to the governor, and to observe, at the same time, whether I concluded the treaty with Villars, whose accommodation drew his along with it, in some measure necessarily.

I CAME to Louviers the next day, from whence making known my arrival to admiral Villars, he sent the captain of his guards to receive me at the gate of the city. I did not enter secretly as before, but publicly, and with a kind of pomp. The streets were filled with the people; and the hopes of a peace, by which quiet and commerce would be restored to their city, drew loud acclamations of joy from them as I passed. Villars had caused the finest house in Rouen to be prepared for the reception of me and my train, which consisted of twelve or fifteen gentlemen; and had given all the necessary orders for treating us magnificently. La-Font, who had

the care of my reception, waited to conduct me thither : he outdid his master, and at night gave me the music, and the diversion of dancers, and jugglers, whom I could not prevail upon to receive either money or presents. I sent Du-Perat to make my compliments to the admiral, madam de Simiers, and the abbé de Tiron †, who all had a great share in the management of this affair : they returned me the same civility a few moments after by the sieur de Perdriel, and desired him to tell me, that I must rest this day, and we should enter upon business the next. This, however, did not hinder the abbot from visiting me in the evening, without ceremony : indeed his whole conduct upon this occasion discovered a degree of rectitude and sincerity rarely to be found in such negotiations.

I FOUND by his discourse that the king had been within a very little of losing Villars irretrievably. A deputy from Spain, named don Simon-Antonio, and another called Chapelle Marteau ‡, from the duke of Maienne, came to Rouen some days before my arrival, and had made very advantageous proposals to this governor ; he had likewise daily received letters from the catholics, even those in the king's party, which tended to raise unfavourable suspicions of his majesty's designs, and to prejudice him against a negotiation entrusted to a protestant agent : this argument had great weight with Villars, always zealous for his religion, and would have infallibly determined him for the enemies party, if in this perplexity his mind had not been ballanced by other letters from the cardinal of Bourbon, the bishop of Evreux, and the marquis de Vitry, who all assured him he might depend upon the king's word and my sincerity. Tiron shewed me part of each of these letters, and thought it necessary to warn me, that the admiral, having been perpetually beset by deputies

|| Philip Des-Portes, abbot of Josephat, Tiron, and Bonport.

‡ Michael Marteau, sieur de la Chapelle.

from the league, and offended likewise at the delays that had been used with him, I must not expect to vanquish his irresolution without suffering some of those sallies of rage, so natural to him, and which with a little patience it was easy to allay.

I WENT to wait on † Villars, well prepared to sustain all these little assaults, and at first perceived plainly that the sight of me awakened some remains of distrust and anger in his mind. My behaviour soon dissipated this cloud, and he with great calmness and serenity proposed his conditions, which were comprized under the following heads: That he should continue still in his post of admiral, which had been bestowed on him by the league; and in his government of Rouen possess a power independent of the duke of Montpensier, governor of that province, at least during three years; and that this power should extend over the bailiwicks of Rouen and Caux: That the exercise of the protestant religion should not be allowed in this capital, nor six leagues about it: That all the officers posted by the league in the cities belonging to his government should be continued there, with fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred horse, to be maintained by the king for the security of those cities: That his majesty should give him the sum of an hundred and twenty thousand livres to pay his debts, and a yearly pension of sixty thousand: That Fescamp should be delivered to him: And lastly, that he should have the disposal of the abbeyes of Jumiéges, Tiron, Bonport, la Valaise, Saint-Taurin, and that of Montivilliers, which he designed for a sister of madam de Simiers.

If all these articles had as much depended upon me as that relating to the abbey of Saint-Taurin,

† M. de Villars, in the Memoirs of those times, is represented to be of a haughty disposition, and subject to frequent transports of anger. It is there observed, that the baron de Rosny was the only one that could succeed in these negotiations. Memoirs for the history of France, vol. II. These negotiations of the baron de Rosny are also commended by M. de Thou, book six.

which was my own, and which I immediately yielded to Villars, the treaty had been concluded without any farther delay; and this I assured him of with regard to those wherein the king was absolute master. But however full and extensive the powers I had received from his majesty were, I could do nothing in those articles which regarded the duke of Montpensier, and Biron, who was invested with the post of admiral, and in possession of Fescamp, which he had got from Bois-rosé, on a promise of indemnification, that had not yet been fulfilled; and I did not think I had a right to settle this affair without informing the king of it. As I did not hesitate upon any of those conditions which depended immediately upon the king to grant, I expected that Villars would have been satisfied with my conduct; but this governor going out with the deputies from the league at the very moment that I was endeavouring to make him comprehend my reasons, he interrupted me hastily with these few words, pronounced with great fury: “That I might spare myself the trouble
“ of talking to him any more, since he was deter-
“ mined either to finish the treaty upon the spot, or
“ break it off entirely.”

ALTHOUGH I was a little stunned with this unforeseen blow, I answered Villars calmly, that I was persuaded the king would grant him the three articles in question, as well as all the others (that of the Fescamp making two, because Bois-rosé was concerned in it:) That this need not hinder us from drawing up the treaty, and even signing it that moment, as if every thing was agreed to, inserting only this note in the margin over against the three articles, *To be determined by the king.* And, to convince him that I sought not to gain time, in order to betray him afterwards, I offered to remain in his power as an hostage, till his majesty returned an answer. Villars still started new difficulties, but he could not resist madam de Simiers, the abbot Tiron, and la Font,

Font, who all supported my arguments. I had the treaty drawn up in haste, we signed it; and I sent a copy of it immediately to the king, with a long letter, in which I gave him an account of all that had passed. But before the answer could be brought to Rouen, an incident happened, which we once imagined would have rendered it useless.

Most of the governors of the small forts in the neighbourhood of Rouen, far from returning to the duty and obedience they owed their king, persisted in their revolt, because, in the present confused state of affairs, they acquired gains, which they foresaw would cease with the war. The most artful amongst them made themselves equally necessary to each of the contending parties, and exacted bribes from both. Du Rollet, governor of Pont de l'Arche, was one of those that acted on these principles with the greatest subtilty. He had for more than a year flattered the king with hopes that he would fall upon means to deliver the city of Rouen and its governor into his hands, provided he would give the government of this place to him, which his majesty at all events gave him a written promise of. Du Rollet, failing in an enterprize which exceeded his abilities, took it into his head to blast my negociation, which he attempted in this manner.

He commanded an officer named Dupré to mingle with my train as I passed through Pont de l'Arche, and to enter Rouen with me. I had been informed that du Rollet was disaffected, but I had no reason to suspect this officer of having any bad designs, nor could I hinder him from following me. I was likewise absolutely ignorant of this Dupré's being the very same person that had been employed by du Rollet before to cabal against Villars in Kouen †. He

† During the siege of Rouen, du Rollet endeavouring to throw himself into that city, was taken and shut up in the old castle, where however, it is probable, he still continued to carry on intrigues for the king's interest. Cayet, b. iv. p. 14.

was no sooner entered, than, renewing his former acquaintance, he put himself at the head of a party of rash inconsiderate persons, with whom he had laid a plot to seize the old palace, and secure the governor's person; persuading them that he acted thus by my orders. As he had no other design than to alarm the governor, and to inspire him with the utmost detestation of me, he was not at much trouble to keep the affair secret; in effect, Villars was informed of it immediately,

THE excess of anger this news threw him into, and the injurious thoughts it inspired him with against the king, and especially me, may be easily imagined. Convinced that he had now an incontestible proof of my treachery, he would not examine the matter any farther, but sent d'Infencourt to me that moment, to desire I would come to him. I had dined that day with la Pile, attorney-general of the chamber of accounts, and had just received letters which pleased me exceedingly. The king granted Villars the three articles that had been referred to him, and engaged to procure the consent of the parties concerned. Over against these articles, I had written upon the margin of the original treaty which I had carried with me, *To be agreed by his majesty's command.* I promised myself great pleasure in thus surprizing Villars, who could not expect such quick dispatch; and went out of la Pile's house with the treaty in one hand, holding a white scarf which I had put into my pocket in the other, intending to throw it about Villars' neck, and embracing him, to salute him admiral and governor of the districts of Rouen and Caux. The contrariety of reflections that employed our minds as we advanced towards each other had, I believe, something in it very uncommon.

My gaiety was soon overcast, for Villars perceiving me at a distance, came towards me with hasty strides, his face swelled and inflamed, his eyes sparkling, and all his looks and gestures expressive of the
most

most violent transports of fury. He began by snatching the paper out of my hand, and not giving me time to speak, with a voice so altered by this inward agitation that it was scarcely articulate, he stammered out these words, too remarkable, not to be related exactly.

“ So, sir, where, in the devil’s name, are you going so airy, and so full of mirth? By heavens you have not yet attained your purpose, and before the game is ended, you may perhaps have no cause to smile, at least if I treat you as you deserve. You are out in your reckoning, you, and your king of Navarre also, for by my soul he has got a --- in the basket; and if he can find no other footman than Villars, I fancy he will be but badly served.” Saying this, he tore the treaty into a thousand pieces, and threw them into the fire. Having given the reins to his fury, he added an infinite number of invectives of the same tone, and equally extravagant, intermingling them with oaths, the rage he was in furnishing him with an inexhaustible source of them.

THAT I suffered him to go on thus, without interruption, was at first owing to my astonishment, or rather indeed to the necessity I was under of hearing him, and afterwards to the reflection that these sorts of dispositions cannot bear contradiction: at length stopping of himself, he began to traverse his chamber, which was very long and wide, like a man out of his senses. “ Well, sir,” said I, when I found he was silent, “ have you done yet talking at random? You have reason to be satisfied at having thus behaved like a madman, without being contradicted in your extravagancies.” Perceiving that the calm manner in which I spoke to him, obliged him, in spite of himself, to listen to me, I proceeded to tell him, that what he had just said and done in my presence appeared to be nothing but an artifice he had conceived to retract the word he had so solemnly given; but that this turn would always dishonour him, and greatly lessen my opinion of his wisdom.

and integrity. "'Sdeath," cried he, stopping short, " I never did, nor never will deserve or suffer such a reproach. I am a man of too much honour; such evasions are only fit for those that betray their friends, and endeavour to get them assassinated." Hitherto he had said nothing so plain as this last word, by which, though I could not comprehend the whole extent of his meaning, yet I was able to guess from whence so furious a behaviour proceeded.

I DEMANDED an explanation, and protested to him, with that air of sincerity and confidence with which even the most prejudiced cannot help being affected, that I was absolutely ignorant of his meaning; and that if I could be convicted of any unfair proceedings with regard to him, I was ready to deliver myself into his hands, without desiring either pardon or favour. Thus obliging him to be more explicit, he reproached me with having employed Dupré to assassinate him, and seize upon the old palace. The violence of this agitation not permitting him to speak otherwise than in broken and interrupted sentences, the affair appeared to me utterly improbable, and I could not hinder myself from entertaining some suspicions of his sincerity, nor from telling him, that he had been seduced by Spanish pistoles to contrive such a slight pretence for breaking with me. " Who I?" cried he, relapsing again into a rage. "'Sdeath, must I confess that I have acted treacherously with you, and broke my oath? I would rather die than be guilty of such baseness." " By heaven, sir," answered I, " you teach me to swear, it is only by your fulfilling or breaking off the treaty, that I shall know whether to believe you an honest or a perjured man."

WE continued thus expostulating a long time, which increased rather than lessened our mutual dissatisfaction; so that at last we both became equally enraged. During this contest the abbot de Tiron came

came in, and entering immediately into the occasion of our quarrel, reduced us both to reason. “Depend upon it, sir,” said he to Villars, “the baron de Rosny is not guilty of the schemes that have been laid against you; he is a man of too much honour; and, in such a case, too prudent to throw himself into your power.”

THESE few words explained every thing. I turned calmly towards Villars, telling him, that I was convinced anger alone had been the cause of all the injurious things he had said; and that I expected, as soon as it was allayed, he would repair his fault, by performing his first promise. “Well, sir,” said he, already half pacified, “I will keep my word: but take care also not to fail of yours, with regard to the three articles yet undetermined.” I answered, that if it had not been for his fury, which made him throw the treaty into the fire, he might have seen that the king consented to grant him them all.

WE were upon these terms when madam de Simiers was introduced. “Don’t be angry with me, madam,” said he, as he went to receive her: “all is over, we are good friends again; but by heaven, the traitor that made all this mischief shall die before I eat or drink.” He kept his word, for causing Dupré to be brought before him, after he had confessed the whole affair, he ordered him, without the formality of a trial, to be hung up at a window.

VILLARS intreated me afterwards to shew him the king’s letter. I did not scruple to tell him, that his majesty’s secrets ought only to be communicated to his open and declared servants. To make Villars of this number, nothing more was necessary but to draw up the treaty again, which we signed, and each of us kept a duplicate of it. It was agreed between us, that the affair should remain a secret for some time, on account of the league and the Spaniards, against whom this governor took new measures,

fures, by reinforcing the troops he had in Rouen. After this, I no longer made any difficulty in shewing him all my letters, as well those which I had written to and received from the king before, as that in which I informed him of the ratification of the treaty, and his majesty's answer to it. The courier who carried these last dispatches was not more than four hours on his journey.

THESE letters gave great satisfaction to Villars, particularly the last, written by the king's own hand. His majesty in that thanked me more like a friend than a sovereign, for the service I had just done him, and concluded with these words, "Come to me at Senlis, on the 20th of March, or at Saint Denis on the 21st, that you may help to cry *Long live the king* in Paris, and afterwards we will do the same at Rouen:" for I wrote to him that his presence there was necessary. "Shew this letter," added he, "to the new friend you have acquired me, that he may see I do not forget him, and be convinced that I love him, and know how to prize and reward such brave men as he is." "By heaven," said Villars at this place, "this prince is too gracious and obliging to remember me, and speak of me in such advantageous terms." From that moment, Villars continued firm in his obedience and affection to the king; nor had his majesty amongst his most ancient servants one more absolutely devoted to his interests than him. He desired me to be satisfied with his word for the faithful execution of all the articles comprehended in the treaty, and I accepted it as the best security he could give me.

THE remainder of the time that I staid in Rouen was employed in regulating some affairs of the same nature. I usually spent the day with the admiral, and at night retired to my apartment, to give audience to all the officers as well of the city and parliament, as of the army, that were scattered throug-

out that province, and who came to me privately to concert measures for separating the people from the interests of the league. Médavy was of this number, and I concluded the treaty with him. Verneuil not being a city of such importance as to make it necessary to use the same precautions with it as with Rouen, the king ordered Médavy to publish his treaty, for an example to the other governors.

As I was solicitous not to neglect meeting his majesty at the place he had appointed me, I made haste to leave Rouen. After receiving from the governor every instance of gratitude and respect, I took a leave equally affectionate of the abbot de Tiron, and madam de Simiers, promised them to return soon, and assured madam de Simiers, I would bring her brother, the marquis de Vitry, along with me, with a body of troops sufficient to put Villars into a condition to explain himself without danger. The obligations I owed to them were great enough to demand this service of me, although his majesty's interest had not been an additional motive to it.

IT was upon some correspondencies the king carried on in Paris that he founded his hopes of being soon admitted there, and he was on his way thither from St. Denis when I joined him. His party in that city was so firmly united, and so many persons of equal courage and fidelity had joined, that it was almost impossible but that it should succeed. Ever since the battle of Arques, when the count Belin was taken prisoner by the king's forces, and had an opportunity of discovering the great qualities of that prince contrasted with the weakness of his enemies, the duke of Maienne perceived the inclinations of this governor to lean secretly towards the king. Full of this suspicion, he did not hesitate a moment about depriving him † of the government of so considerable

† The parliament upon this occasion made a decree, highly honourable for the count of Belin. The citizens are there exhorted rather

a city as Paris, and fought for a man whose fidelity to himself and the league could be depended upon, to entrust the care of this great city to, at a time when the necessity of his affairs obliged him to repair to the frontier of Picardy; accordingly he fixed upon Brissac †, and bestowed this government upon him.

BRISSAC, at first, answered his purpose perfectly well. The study of the Roman history had inspired this officer (who valued himself greatly upon his penetration and judgment) with a very singular project, which was, to form France into a republic upon the model of ancient Rome, and make Paris the capital of this new state. Had Brissac descended ever so little from these lofty ideas to an attention to particular circumstances, which in the greatest designs it is necessary to have some regard to, he would have perceived that a scheme, however happily imagined, may, by the nature of the obstacles which oppose it, by the difference of the genius, and character of the people, by the force of those laws they have adopted, and by long custom, which, as it were, stamps a seal upon them, become alike chimerical and impracticable. Time only and long experience can bring remedies to the defects in the customs of a state whose form is already determined; and this ought always to be attempted with a view to the plan of its original constitution ‡: this is so certain, that whenever we see a state conducted by measures contrary to those made use of in its foundation, we

to partake than suffer his banishment from the city. *Memoirs for the history of France, vol. II. Memoirs of the league, vol. VI.*

† Charles de Cossé, count of Brissac, marshal of France.

‡ The sense in which the duke of Sully understands this maxim, and the true one in which it ought to be taken, is, that the ancient form and fundamental principles of government are to be changed as little as possible; he does not mean, that we are to admit the abuses which ignorance or necessity have introduced in the different institutions relating to the finances, politics, &c. He will treat this subject more largely in the sequel of these *Memoirs*.

may

may be assured a great revolution is at hand; nor do the application of the best remedies operate upon diseases that resist their force.

BRISSAC did not go so far; he could not for a long time comprehend from whence the general opposition his designs met with proceeded, for he had explained himself freely to the nobles and all the chief partisans of the league: at last he began to be apprehensive for his own safety, lest while, without any assistance, he was labouring to bring his project to perfection, the king should destroy it entirely, by seizing his capital. Possessed with this fear, the Roman ideas quickly gave place to the French spirit of those times, which was to be solicitous only for his own advantage. When self-interested motives are strengthened by the apprehension of any danger, there are few persons who will not be induced by them to betray even their best friend. Thus Brissac acted: he entered into the count of Belin's resolutions, but from a motive far less noble and generous; and thought of nothing but making the king purchase, at the highest price, the treachery he meditated against the duke of Maienne, in his absence. St. Luc †, his brother-in-law, undertook to negotiate with the king in his name, and having procured very advantageous conditions, Brissac agreed to admit Henry with his army into Paris, in spite of the Spaniards. The troops of the league were absolutely at his disposal, and they had no reason to apprehend any opposition from the people.

D'O § lost no time in making application for the government of Paris, and the isle of France, and

† The duke of Maienne, as de Thou observes, was informed of Brissac's treachery by the duchess of Guise his mother, but he would not believe her. See the reduction of the city of Paris, Matt. vol. II. b. i. p. 174. Chron. Novenn. b. vi. p. 334. and other historians.

‡ Francis d'Epinay, lord of St. Luc, master-general of the ordnance.

§ Our Memoirs make no mention of monsieur d'O's being deprived by the league of this government, which Henry III. had bestowed upon him. Peref. 2d part,

obtained his request; but now a conflict between his interest and ambition so perplexed this superintendant, that, notwithstanding his new dignity, the reduction of Paris was amongst the number of those things he most feared should happen: he would have had it believed, that the true motive of this fear was, lest the finances should become a prey to the men of the sword and gown, by whom, he said, the king, as soon as he was possessed of Paris, would be oppressed from the payment of pensions, appointments, and rewards. But this discourse deceived none but those who were ignorant of the advantage he found in keeping the affairs of the finances in their present state of confusion, and with what success he had hitherto laboured for that purpose.

THE king, upon this occasion, put all the friends of the count of Belin in motion, on whom he had no less dependence than upon Brissac; and at nine o'clock in the morning presented himself †, at the head of eight thousand men, before Porte Neuve, where the †† mayor of Paris, and the other magistrates, received him in form. He went immediately, and took possession of the Louvre, the Palace, the Great and Little Châtelet, and found no opposition any where; he proceeded even to the church of Nôtre Dame, which he entered to return thanks to God for his success. His soldiers, on their side, fulfilled

† March 27.

‡ This Mayor of Paris was John P'Huillier, who when Brissac said to him, "We must render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," he replied, "We must render them, indeed, but not sell them to him." F. l'Etoile's Journal ascribes this repartee to Henry IV. L'Huillier was rewarded with the post of president of the chamber of accounts, and counsellor of state; and Martin Langlois, an alderman, was made mayor of Paris in his room. Le Grain, b. vi. It is observed, in the volume of MSS. marked 9033. in the king's library, that Henry IV. entering Paris by the new gate, which has since been called the gate of the conference, he went out again, and returned several times, fearing, notwithstanding the repeated assurances of the mayor and aldermen, that by permitting his troops to enter Paris, their design was to cut them in pieces, and seize his troops.

with such exactness the orders † and intentions of their master, that no one throughout this great city complained of having received any outrage from them. They took possession of all the squares and cross-ways in the streets, where they drew up in order of battle. All was quiet; and from that day the shops were opened with all the security which a long and continued peace would have given.

THE Spaniards had now only the Bastille, the Temple, and the quarters of St. Anthony and St. Martin in their possession; and there they fortified themselves, being about four thousand in number, with the duke de Feria and don Diego d'Evora at their head; all greatly astonished at such unexpected news ‡, and firmly resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity, if any attempts were made to force them from those advantageous posts. The king relieved them from their perplexity, by sending to tell them, that they might leave Paris, and retreat in full security. He treated the cardinals of Placentia and Pellevé with the same gentleness, notwithstanding the resentment he still retained for their conduct with regard to him. Soissons was the place whither these enemies of the king § retired, protected

† The king, perceiving a soldier to take a loaf from a baker by force, ran to him and would have killed him. L'Etoile's Journal. Perefixe says, that la Nouë being arrested for debts which his father contracted in this prince's service, complained to him of that insolence. The king, in public, said to him, "La Nouë, you must pay your debts, I pay mine;" but afterwards, taking him aside, he gave him his jewels to pawn to the creditors, instead of the baggage they had seized of his. Peref. part 2d.

‡ L'Etoile observes, that this news being brought to the Spaniards while Langlois was amusing them with relating circumstances out of the Roman history, the duke of Feria cried out two or three times, "He is a great king." L'Etoile's Journal.

§ The king had a mind to see them march out, and looked at them from a window over St. Denis's gate. They all saluted him with their hats off, bowing profoundly low. The king, with great politeness, returned the salute to the principal officers, adding these words, "Remember me to your master; go, I permit you, but re-

turn no more." Peref. 2d part. This anecdote agrees with that in

by

by a strong escort. His majesty then published a general pardon † for all the French who had borne arms against him. When this sacrifice is not extorted by necessity, but, on the contrary, made at a time when vengeance has full liberty to satiate itself, it is not one of the least marks of a truly royal disposition. Madam de ‡ Montpensier being introduced to the king, he received her as politely, and conversed as familiarly with her, as if he had some very important reason for sparing her the confusion which any other person in his situation would have been fond of throwing her into §.

THE king had not yet found an opportunity to converse with me upon the negotiations of Rouen; therefore that evening, when the croud of courtiers had quitted his apartment, he took me aside to a window in the Louvre, and made me give him a circumstantial relation of all that had passed, even to the minutest incidents; to which he listened with the utmost attention. He accused himself of being the cause of du Rollet's unseasonable attempt, by

the Memoirs for the history of France; but is contradicted by the Journal written by the same author.

† All the Memoirs of those times are filled with instances of Henry's clemency, and his sprightly and agreeable repartees. See the Memoirs above cited. A leaguer coming to him one day when he was playing at primero, "You are welcome," said the king to him, "for if we win, you will be ours." *Le Grain*, book x.

‡ Catherina-Maria of Lorraine, widow of Lewis of Bourbon, duke of Montpensier.

§ Perefice observes, that he played at cards with her that very evening. *L'Etoile* adds, that he returned both hers and madam de Nemours' visit; and relates a very extraordinary conversation that passed between this prince and her; at the end of which, madam de Montpensier, whose hatred for Henry was publicly known, taking notice of his entering Paris, she wished that it had been her brother the duke of Maienne who had let down the bridge for his majesty. "Ad-zookers," replied the king, "he might possibly have made me wait a long time, and I should not have entered so early." This lady, pursued he, hearing the populace cry, *Lorg live the king*, said, laughing, that Brissac had done more than his wife, who in fifteen years had made but one cuckow sing; whereas he, in eight days, had made more than twenty thousand parrots sing in Paris. *L'Etoile*, ann. 1594.

not acquainting me with the proposals he had made him, which would have put me upon my guard against all that could have happened from that quarter.

THE king had not yet mentioned to the duke of Montpensier, or the baron de Biron, the conditions which, at their expence, he had granted to admiral Villars: and this was now all that perplexed him; for he conducted himself by quite different maxims from those princes, who, in such cases, instead of submitting to make use of prudent measures to pacify the murmurings they may expect, begin by silencing all complaint, and exact an unwilling obedience by the force of authority only. He ordered me to make him, in the presence of these two noblemen, the same relation I had just now done, as if it were for the first time; and to give them to understand, that the conclusion of the treaty with Villars depended upon their sacrificing to him their rights. This I performed exactly as we had concerted; after which the king, turning towards them, said, with some emotion, that he would rather lose Villars and Rouen both, than gain them by doing any injustice to two persons whom he greatly esteemed. Montpensier and Biron were so affected with this manner of treating them, that they declared they would willingly resign their pretensions. Henry thanked them, and, as an equivalent gave the first the governments of Perche and Maine, to be joined to that of Normandy, as soon as it should be entirely reduced; but then Villars' generosity changed this disposition: and to Biron a marechal's baton, with four hundred and twenty thousand livres in money, to indemnify him from his loss.

THE reduction of Paris engaged the king in new affairs, which obliged him to delay still longer his journey to Rouen. He was employed in receiving the homage of all the different courts *, of the uni-

* The parliament of Paris was recalled from Tours, where it had been removed by letters patent from the king, dated the 28th of March, 1594.

versity, and other corporations of the city of Paris; whose early submission he thought he could not better reward, than by applying his cares to the restoring to them that harmony and regularity which the civil wars had interrupted. He had likewise answers to give to the several governors of towns and fortresses, particularly of the Isle of France, who, after the example of the capital, came to make their submissions to him.

VILLEROY was not amongst the first: it was necessity alone, that either fixed his irresolution, or forced his inclinations. Some places † of little importance still held out for him and his son, with which, by means of Du-Plessis his friend, and Sancy †, whose daughter was just married to his son, he made very advantageous conditions for himself: after obtaining, by repeated importunities, two truces, the one of two months space, the other for three months; which he procured to be ratified by the duke of Maienne; after having a long time affected a neutrality, and set a thousand springs in motion to protract, till the last extremity, his separation from his old friends, he at last concluded a treaty *

† Pontoise, &c.

† Jaqueline de Harlay Sancy.

* This circumstance in our Memoirs is positively contradicted by de Thou, who says, book cviii. that Villeroy's treaty with the king was concluded long before, but that his majesty would not suffer it to be made public, because he was desirous that Villeroy should make use of his influence over the duke of Maienne, to prevail upon him to join his party. Matthieu, in the places already quoted, is of the same opinion; and Cayet, who likewise supports it elsewhere, does not contradict it by Villeroy's letter to the duke of Maienne, dated the 2d of January in the same year; although, in relating the purport of this letter, he casts a kind of reproach upon this minister. In this letter, which was intercepted by the royalists, Villeroy, whose design was to inform the duke of Maienne beforehand of his treaty with Henry, which was going to be published, and to endeavour once more to prevail upon him to follow his example, advises Maienne to consider in earnest of a peace for the party in general, and himself in particular, "Because," says he, "their cause is desperate;" and adds, "We have lost all confidence in each other," &c. Cayet, b. vi.

almost after all the rest, and obtained the post of secretary to the king, in recompence for that he had given up.

THE day after the king's entry into Paris, he thought proper to make me set out for Rouen, since he could not go thither himself. I arrived at that city on the 25th of March, bringing with me Vitry, at the head of three hundred men. La Font received me at the gate of the city, and conducted me, with all my train, to the house that was prepared for my reception, which belonged to the sieur de Martinbault, the finest in the whole town, and, by Villar's orders, furnished magnificently for me. Simon Antoine and la Chapelle did not approve of such a remarkable distinction. They were yet ignorant of the treaty, but had taken so much umbrage at my first journey, that they made use of all their credit with the governor to prevail upon him to forbid my entrance into the city.

LA FONT, who acquainted me with all their in-

With the key that de Thou and other historians have given us to Villeroy's secret transactions with the chiefs of the league, and to the part he played by the king's order, the meaning of those words which they would impute to him as a crime, is easily comprehended; and it is even plain, that in speaking to the duke of Maëenne he could not have express'd himself otherwise. Indeed, if on this occasion Villeroy could be charged with any fault, it was, in not discovering a little more generosity when he had so good an opportunity for it; for besides those rewards mentioned in our Memoirs, he procured the government of Lyons for Charles de Neufville, marquis of Alincourt, his son. But what French nobleman in those times, or even what man, however little distressed in his circumstances, could boast of being exempted from this reproach? Father l'Etoile does not conceal the covetous and selfish disposition of Villeroy. "Henry IV." says he in his Journal, "going one day, with twelve or fifteen of his courtiers, to partake of a slight collation with Villeroy, said to them, when they were seated at table, My friends, we are at an ordinary, let us fare well for our money, for we have an host that will make us pay dear for our entertainment." I do not think it will be necessary for the future to obviate all those invectives which the duke of Sully, in the sequel of these Memoirs, throws upon a man who has been highly serviceable to this kingdom, till his death in the year 1617, having possessed the posts of minister and secretary of state under four successive kings, Charles IX. Henry III. Henry IV. and Lewis XIII.

trigues,

trigues, apprized me also, that they were that very night appointed to sup with the governor; as were likewise the abbé Tiron, the president Boquemare, Médavy, and d'Hacqueville, two counsellors of the parliament, and some others. I was resolved to take this opportunity to declare myself; and la Font having assured me, that the admiral would not be displeas'd with any thing I did, I was willing to enjoy the confusion of the two deputies from Spain and the league, by telling them what had just happened at Paris.

I WENT immediately to St. Ouen, where Villars was with all his guests; he was talking to the deputies at one end of the gallery when I entered; I did not scruple to interrupt their conversation, by running to embrace him, and told him I was come to invite myself to sup with him, having some news to acquaint him with. Villars, after returning my embrace, pointing to the two deputies, as if he knew my intended scheme and acted in concert with me, told me coolly, that having so many people to sup with him that night, he was afraid I would not find the party well assorted. I replied, that I could accommodate myself to any set of company, and I was persuaded (the animosity of party aside) those two gentlemen would receive the news I had to tell them with pleasure. The governor glancing a look at Simon Antoine, that deputy replied with an easy air, that he would be very glad to know how the king had treated the Spaniards and the two cardinals: adding encomiums on this prince, and compliments to me, with great art and politeness. "By what I observe, you will oblige me to treat you all," said Villars; adding an apology for the meanness of his entertainment.

THE rest of the company approaching, the president Boquemare pressed me to declare my news; but I would say nothing till we were seated. "I am," said the admiral (placing himself first at the middle

middle of the table) “ a very bad master of the ceremonies.” I was resolved not to use any with don Simon, who I knew did not want ambition, which was likewise supported by his rank; lest therefore he should accept, on a bare compliment, of the chief place, which, on an occasion, when I represented the king’s person, might have had some consequence, I seated myself, without any ceremony, at the head of the table, telling the Spanish deputy, that if our own persons only were concerned, I would willingly pay him what I thought due to a stranger of his merit: to which he answered with great politeness. La Chapelle observing to him, that the place I had at table was a type of that the king possessed now at Paris, and that things only followed their natural course, “ I perceive it,” said the Spaniard, “ and I am afraid this precedence is “ but a bad augury for us; however, it shall not “ hinder us from being merry, and drinking to the “ health of our masters, who are not enemies, since “ there is no war declared between them.” This answer was equally wise and politic; and during the whole repast, the Spaniard supported his part of the conversation with great spirit and understanding, seemed charmed with the king’s fine qualities, and praised him particularly for the clemency with which he acted towards his enemies, whether foreigners or French. I took notice that Tiron, and a priest named Dadré †, were silent while this subject was discussed.

THE whole company either were, or seemed to be, highly pleased with the entertainment of the evening. When we broke up, Villars, as he attended me out, intreated me not to visit him next day, which he would employ in getting rid, some way or other, of his deputies. He knew not yet how these two men intended to take their leave of him, but told

† John Dadré, penitentiary of the church of Rouen.

me, that if I wanted to be informed of it, I need only spend the afternoon with madam de Simiers: there I learned, that Villars had been closeted three whole hours with the two agents; that they had made use of reproaches, and very harsh language to him. But this governor was not a man easily to be intimidated or induced to alter his resolution; he told them plainly, that he had concluded a treaty with the king, therefore it was necessary they should retire without delay, either to Soissons, or to the duke of Maienne, whither he would grant them a safe-conduct, the only favour he had now in his power to bestow. There was a necessity for coming to this extremity with them: and Villars took care to guard against the effect of their resentment, by giving orders for the newly-arrived troops to enter Rouen; with which he took possession of the palace, the fort, and the castle. This done, he sent la Font to me, to tell me, that the next day, at my first request, he would declare himself for the king, in the presence of all the inhabitants of the city, whom he caused to be assembled for that purpose, with all the form and ceremony that might make this action more solemn.

I NEVER experienced a more perfect satisfaction than what arose from the reflection of having done the king and kingdom so considerable a service; nor enjoyed a more tranquil sleep than that which the succeeding night afforded me. The next morning early I hastened to Villars, at St. Ouen, whom I found walking in the great square, whither he had come an hour before, and which, as well as all the principal streets, was filled with such a prodigious concourse of people, drawn thither by the report of the deputies departure, and the new ceremony, that Perdriel, d'Isencourt, la Font, and the soldiers, whom the governor had sent to attend me, could with difficulty open me a passage: the joy was general, and diffused itself on every face.

I WENT up to the admiral, with whom I found the baron de Médavy and the president Boquemare : after the accustomed salutations were over, I told him, that the king being now a good catholic, it was time he should give him some testimony of his duty and zeal. Villars replied, that in his heart he was already faithfully devoted to his majesty's service ; and that if, to make an open profession of it, nothing more was necessary than to put on the white scarf, he was ready to receive it at my hand. I took one out of my pocket ; and Villars had no sooner put it on, than, without farther thought, " Come on," cried he, with a transport which marked his character, the league is, to cry *Long live the king*. The profound silence that had been held during our conference, was now interrupted at this word by an universal acclamation of, *Long live the king* : at the same instant, the ringing of the great bell, with all the others in the city ; the discharge of all the artillery from the fort and other places ; added to this general shout a noise capable of inspiring terror, if the joy which dilated every heart had permitted them to perceive, that there was not a house in the city that was not shook by it. " The sound of these bells," said I to the governor, " suggests to us to go and give thanks to God in the church of Nôtre Dame." Accordingly, *Te Deum* was sung there with great solemnity, and followed by the celebration of the mass, at the beginning of which I retired. As soon as it was over, Villars took me up in his coach, and carried me to a magnificent entertainment, to which the sovereign courts, all the officers of the army and magistrates of the city were invited. Orders were sent to Verneuil, Pontaudemer, Havre, where the chevalier d'Oise * commanded, and to all those places that acknowledged the admiral's authority, to follow the example of the capital.

* George-de Brancas Villars, chevalier d'Oise, the admiral's brother.

IT was my first care, as soon as I was at leisure, to inform the king of what had just happened, and to intreat him to send to some of his counsellors to re-establish the parliament. The next day the citizens came in a body to thank me for my services, and to bring me their present, which consisted of a side-board of plate, gilt and finely wrought, of upwards of three thousand crowns value; which I was obliged to accept, notwithstanding all my endeavours to the contrary. It was not long before my courier returned with dispatches from his majesty: he brought a letter for admiral Villars, in which the king stiled him his cousin, admiral, governor in chief of Rouen, Havre, &c. and invited him to come to court in terms which promised him a most gracious reception: that which was for me contained an order to return as soon as possible.

THE admiral, who would not appear there till he had an equipage suitable to his rank and dignities, took time to prepare himself; as for me, I set out before, and lay the first night at Louviers, where I had the following adventure with Bois-rosé, whom I did not know.

THIS gentleman having learned by public report that the king had given Villars the sort of Fescamp, and heard no mention made of any recompence that was to be bestowed upon him, resolved to complain of this hardship to the king; and having occasion for the protection and countenance of some governor who was known to his majesty, came to Louviers a few moments after my arrival, to get a letter of recommendation from du Rollet. He alighted at the same inn which I had chosen, and was told that a gentleman was just come, who by his train, and the discourse of his domestics, appeared to be in great favour at court: my name they did not mention. Bois-rosé, believing me to be still at Rouen, could not know it but by inspiration, and did not hesitate a moment in preferring the protection of this lord to du Rollet's

Rollet's. He entered my chamber, and after making himself known, told me, that he had great reason to complain of a nobleman of the court, called the baron de Rosny, who, abusing his master's favour, had sacrificed him, as well as the duke de Montpensier, and marshal Biron, to admiral Villars his old friend. He afterwards explained his demands, but with so much emotion, so many oaths and menaces against this baron de Rosny, that I was never so well diverted in my life, as at the figure I made on this occasion.

WHEN he had vented all his rage, I told him that I was well enough acquainted with the affair he mentioned to me, to assure him, that the baron de Rosny durst not have done any thing in it but by the king's express command; and that his majesty would not fail to repair his loss of Fescamp, by a recompence wherewith he would have reason to be contented. I did not think it necessary to carry my civility so far, as to promise him to serve his resentment against that baron of whom he complained so bitterly: on the contrary, I told him that if he knew the baron de Rosny, he would confess that a man who, for the good of the state, voluntarily resigned his abbey of Saint-Taurin, could only be influenced by necessity to do what he attributed to injustice. I took leave of him, saying, that I should be glad to see him when I arrived at court, where I promised to speak to the king concerning him, and to obtain the equivalent he demanded for the loss of Fescamp. Bois-rosé went away as much pleased with me as dissatisfied with the baron de Rosny; but having enquired my name of one of my pages, whom he met at the bottom of the stair-case, he was thunder-struck to hear the name of a man whom he had talked of in such harsh terms to himself; so that being apprehensive of the resentment he supposed I entertained against him, he mounted his horse again instantly, went to another inn, and set out with all possible ex-

pedition for Paris, that he might get thither before me, and secure himself against the bad offices he expected from me, by some powerful protector.

THE adventure did not end here. While Bois-rosé took precautions against me as an irreconcilable enemy, I with more tranquility pursued my route by Mante, from whence I brought my wife to Paris. The first thing I did after my arrival, was to wait on the king, and give him an account of my journey. He, according to his usual custom, obliged me to inform him of the minutest particulars. After having exhausted every thing that was serious, I was willing to divert him with the scene at Louviers; for Bois-rosé had taken no notice of that, and had only conjured his majesty not to be prejudiced by what I might say against him, on account of an ancient quarrel between us. The king laughed heartily at the adventure of Bois-rosé. I sent for him, and he finding I was the person to whom he was referred, believed his affairs desperate: I enjoyed his uneasiness and perplexity for some time, and afterwards drew him out of it in a manner that surprized him greatly. I solicited warmly in his favour, and obtained for him a pension of twelve thousand livres a year, a company with an appointment, and two thousand crowns in hand. He had not hoped for so much; but, his blustering apart, I looked upon him as an officer of great courage and resolution; and afterwards bound him more closely to me, and thought him worthy of the post of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, in Normandy, when the king had made me grand master of it.

I CONCEALED nothing from the king of all that had happened to me at Rouen, except the present of the side-board of gilt plate. He was astonished one morning to see it brought into his chamber. I told him, that, having in vain endeavoured to hinder the city of Rouen from making me this present, I came to bring it to his majesty, as a thing which belonged

to him, since I had bound myself by a solemn vow, never on such occasions to accept of any gift from his subjects, while I continued in his service.

AND here it seems not improper to declare my reasons for this conduct, which I am persuaded will not be thought a well-concerted stratagem to gain greater riches; for although the rewards I received from the king were very considerable, and even surpassed my expectations, it will be readily allowed that a man, who for so long a time had almost the sole management of the finances and the army, was able to enrich himself by a much shorter method. It is not necessary that I should name it; the past age has afforded but too many examples of it; and, notwithstanding all my endeavours to introduce a contrary custom, the future I doubt will supply many more.

INTEREST therefore being out of the question, my resolution to avoid receiving any obligations will be placed to the score of vanity. Against this imputation I can offer only a simple assurance, but a very sincere one; that I acted thus from no other motive, than the desire of teaching those who might succeed me in the conduct of affairs, that in this respect there is no difference between them and such as are set over the distribution of justice; for if a judge who appears willing to receive presents, even without any intention of being influenced by them, is looked upon with abhorrence, a minister, and any man invested with a public employment, renders himself equally guilty, who willingly receives gifts, which those who bestow have always in view the indemnifying themselves some time or other, either at the king's or the people's expence. If we cannot depend on the rectitude of intention of those who make us these presents, (it is to my successors I address myself now) much less can we on our own who receive them; and let us accustom ourselves to regard as two things which can never be reconciled, our master's profit, and our own, unless, as I have

observed before, it should be himself who bestows gifts on us ; and his liberality will always go so far as to leave us no cause to complain of him upon this account, after we have been able to convince him that our expectations are confined to him alone. But unfortunately, being accustomed to calculate and see immense sums pass through our hands, we are led insensibly to consider as a small matter those that suffice to raise a fortune for one individual.

THE king did not scruple to own that he was not used to this sort of reasoning ; and that if this system, simple, as it was, could be once established in the finances, it would be a sure method of enriching both the king and the state ; a method that before and since has been ardently sought for in vain. He would not have accepted the side-board, but to accommodate himself to my way of thinking, by obliging me to take it from his hand. This present became publicly known, because he granted me a writing †, in which it was specified, that this side-board was a present made by the city of Rouen to his majesty, who had bestowed it upon me ; and the next day this prince sent me three thousand crowns, in his own strong box, to make me sensible that such an action in a minister should not go unrewarded. I now fulfil his views, by informing the public of this double donation.

* Rosny's disposition agreed perfectly well with the king's. When he trusted the finances to his care, he desired him to receive no present whatever without his knowledge ; and when Rosny informed him of any that were offered to him, the king immediately permitted him to accept of them, being so desirous that he should find his advantage in serving him faithfully, that he often added gifts of his own to those perquisites, to encourage him to persevere in his integrity. But Rosny never received them till they were duly registered in the chamber of accounts, that every one might know the bounty of his prince towards him ; by which means he would avoid the reproach of abusing his favour to empty his coffers. Peref, pag. 227. This writer, as well as the rest of the world were, through the duke of Sully's modesty, at that time ignorant that he himself was the contriver of this judicious scheme.

ADMIRAL Villars appeared soon after at court, with a train of more than an hundred gentlemen, some of whom were of the greatest families in France; but people soon drew off their attention from the magnificence of his horses, and the grandeur of his equipages, to fix it upon his generosity and modesty, in which indeed true riches consist, although they are seldom possessed by the same person. He approached the king with an air perfectly noble, yet full of the deepest respect, and threw himself at his feet. "Admiral," said the king, in pain at this posture, and raising him hastily, "such submission is duly only to God;" and resolving to elevate as much as the admiral had humbled himself, he began to expatiate to the courtiers upon the great actions which Villars had performed, and did it with a discernment so just as gave them new merit. The admiral, by protestations of respect, and devotion to his service, endeavoured to stop the course of those praises; and afterwards perceiving the duke of Montpensier, he went up to him, and, kissing his hand, acknowledged him his superior, resigning to him his government of Rouen with so good a grace, that this prince, who had at first received him coldly, being charmed with his generosity, embraced him several times; and from that moment received him into the number of his most valued friends.

THE months of April and May were employed in the same manner by the king and his council, in receiving deputies from the different cities and governors, who came to treat upon conditions for surrendering. Those of Lyons and Poitiers were the most considerable. A strange fall for the duke of Nemours *! This ambitious man suffered the chimerical project of making himself king of France, by marrying the Infanta of Spain, to employ his mind; which the public hatred, and the opposition

† Charles Emanuel of Savoy, duke of Nemours, son of James, and Anne d'Est, widow of Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise.

of his own brother, the duke of Maienne, obliging him to renounce, he soon consoled himself for this disappointment, by erecting, in idea, a principality composed of the provinces of Lyonnais, Beaujolois, Forêt, Maconnois, and Dombes, which he was to hold of Spain. He began by endeavouring to make sure of the capital of his new kingdom, but the Lyonnais†, more subtil than he, took care to secure the person of their pretended sovereign, who treated them already like a tyrant; and considering him in that light, kept him confined, without any intention however of breaking with the party. The league was offended at the affront offered to one of their leaders; and Saint-Sorlin †, the duke of Nemours' youngest brother, interesting Spain in his cause, obtained from the duke of Savoy, and the duke of Terra Nova, governor of Milan, a powerful supply of forces, with which he fell upon the Lyonnais. This violence determined them to separate openly from the league; and calling in colonel d'Ornano to their assistance, they declared openly for the king, pulled down and dragged the arms and colours of Spain, Savoy, and Nemours, in the dirt, burnt with insulting raillery, in the public square, the effigies of a woman, in the habit of a sorceress, with this inscription on her forehead, *The league*; and allowed only three months time to all the little towns dependent upon Lyons, to return to their duty.

THE duke of Nemours remained in great per-

† Perseux supposes the duke of Maienne himself to be the author of the revolt of Lyons, it being his design to snatch this city out of the hands of his half-brother. What the duke of Sully says here of the duke of Nemours, ought not to hinder us from doing him justice in other respects: he is allowed by all the historians, to have possessed very great and amiable qualities, both of mind and person, and to have been one of the most deserving noblemen in all France. See his panegyric, and that of the marquis de St. Sorlin, his brother, in the third vol. of the Memoirs of Brantome, under the article of monsieur de Nemours, p. 23. and following; and the account of the affairs of Lyons, in Cayet, book vi. fol. 299. and other historians.

† Henry de Savoy-Nemours, marquis of Saint-Sorlin.

plexity during this tumult; and apprehending something worse than confinement from his pretended subjects, to effect his escape, put on the habit of his valet de chambre, whom he resembled in his stature, and going out of his apartment with his cloſe-ſtool pan in his hand, paſſed through the ante-chamber where the guards were, without being known, becauſe he turned his face aſide, as if to avoid the bad ſmell; from thence he ſtole into the ſtreet, and gained the fields; too happy, after ſo much imaginary grandeur, to abandon, like a fugitive, a city which he had deſtined for the ſeat of his glory; and convinced by ſad experience of a truth to which we are always blind, that there is nothing ſo difficult as to make effects answer our deſires.

AMBITION made alſo another madman. Balagny † ſeeing himſelf governor of Cambray, a place by its ſituation of great importance for the king, had the boldneſs to demand his title of governor to be changed into that of ſovereign prince, and the miſfortune to obtain his requeſt. Hence he flattered himſelf that he ſhould ſee his name increaſe the catalogue of crowned heads, and forgot that he wanted means to maintain himſelf in that elevated rank. He maintained it, or thought to have done ſo, by exhausting his purſe to appear with magnificence at court, and to ſend to the ſiege of Laon two thouſand arquebuſiers, and three hundred horſe. But the glory of this new potentate was of ſhort duration; he, as well as Nemours, ſplit upon the common rock ſo fatal to ambitious men, who can never be perſuaded to believe, that the beſt concerted ſchemes are thoſe which afford only moderate advantages, but thoſe advantages ſubject to no changes, and ſecured from all dangers

THE Spaniards ſeeing that in the center of the kingdom every thing ſlipped through their hands, re-

† John de Montluc, baſtard of John de Montluc, biſhop of Valence.

solved to stop the torrent by some important blow, and laid siege to La-Capelle. The king did not balance a moment upon the necessity of leaving all his domestic affairs, to go and prevent the reduction of this place. His soldiers however were not in the same disposition; weary of war, they fought only to lose the remembrance of it in retirement and ease: so much time therefore was wasted before the king could draw his army together, that although he marched before with a small body of troops, yet he came too late; he found the siege so far advanced, and the count of Mansfield, who commanded it, so advantageously posted, that, weak as he was, he could not venture to force him. But the place being of great strength, he flattered himself that the governor would hold out long enough to give time to the rest of the troops to join him, and then he would be in a condition either to throw supplies into the place, or force the besiegers to a battle. But this governor, following the maxim of those times, attentive only to his own profit in every thing, had been so sparing of provisions, ammunition, and soldiers, to man his garrison, that he was obliged to surrender much sooner than with a contrary conduct he need to have done, and thus saw himself ruined by his avarice.

THE king, by way of reprisal, invested * Laon: he was not ignorant that the league had put this place, already so strong by its situation and fortifications, into a condition sufficient to make whoever attacked it, repent of his attempt. Du-Bourg † was governor of it; one of the best and most experienced officers the duke of Maienne had in his army: the duke's second son, the count of Sommerive ‡, with

* In Picardy.

† He chose rather to go out of the Bastile, of which he was governor, publicly with the black scarf, than to receive a bribe to put it into the king's hands. F. de l'Etoile. Cayet, vol. II. p. 691. He was called Antony du Maine, surnamed du Bourg, or l'Espinaffe.

‡ Charles Emmanuel of Lorraine, count of Sommerive.

a great number of the nobility, was shut up there. The king therefore, considering that, on this occasion, he had his military reputation to sustain, a reputation to which he owed all his success, neglected no care or attention, to accomplish his enterprize.

I ATTENDED him joyfully to this siege, and was charged, according to my taste, with the direction of a battery of six pieces of cannon, conjointly with the elder de Born *, who, in quality of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, had the conduct of it in the absence of the count de la Guiche † grand master, and consented to take me for his colleague. Scarce had I taken possession of my new employment, when I was obliged to abandon it. The king was informed by letters from Paris, that the count d'Auvergne ‡, with d'Entragues, his father-in-law, had begun those secret practices against him which afterwards had like to have brought him to a scaffold; and that many disaffected and seditious persons daily resorted to Paris. A violent dispute had likewise just commenced, between the university and curates of Paris, on one side, and the jesuits on the other; which, in a government yet hardly established, might produce dangerous consequences.

THIS news convinced his majesty that there was a necessity for having a vigilant and faithful agent in that great city; yet he delayed mentioning the affair to me, because he knew well that I should not be pleased with an employment which would oblige

* John de Durefort, lord de Born.

† Philibert de la Guiche, governor of Lyons, was made grand master of the ordnance in the year 1578; in the room of the marshal de Biron.

‡ He will be mentioned in the sequel. Charles of Valois, duke of Angoulême, grand prior of France, son of Charles IX. and of Mary Touchet, lady of Belleville, daughter of the lieutenant particulier of Orleans. She died in the year 1638, aged 89 years, and the duke of Angoulême in 1639. He was son-in-law to Francis de Balzac, lord of Entragues, who by his marriage with Mary Touchet, had Henrietta de Balzac, marchioness of Verneuil, mistress of Henry IV. and half sister to the count of Auvergne.

me to leave the siege. However, a letter which I received from the cardinal of Bourbon, and which I could not avoid shewing him, determined him to propose it to me. The cardinal, without giving a particular account of what had happened at Paris, only expressed himself ardently desirous of seeing me, upon affairs of great importance, which he said I only could succeed in. Although all this had only the air of a compliment, yet his majesty thought he ought not to neglect this advice: and had these affairs related only to the cardinal, the king had so many motives for being solicitous about him, that when he had read this letter, he commanded me to prepare for returning to Paris; which I obeyed, but with great regret at quitting the siege. There was a necessity to fill up the employment I left vacant with a man whose fidelity could be depended upon. I named to his majesty Vignoles, Parabere, and Trigny, and he chose * Parabere. I flattered myself that when the affairs which called me to Paris were terminated, I should return to Laon; and I was resolved to use all possible expedition with them; but they were succeeded by others, and that so soon, that from the end of May to the beginning of August, which was the time this siege lasted, all I could see of it was in those little excursions I sometimes made thither from Paris; therefore my account of it will be equally interrupted.

HAVING received the king's last instructions for my journey, I set out, and reached Crépy the first night, where I lay, and the next day arrived at Paris. I waited upon the cardinal immediately, and found him † very ill, and as much weakened in mind as body: he embraced me tenderly, and discovered great joy at seeing me; then ordering his

* John de Beudean de Parabere.

† The moment he perceived himself ill, he departed from Gaillon, and came to St. Genevieve, and afterwards to his fine house of the abbey of St. Germain, according to de Thou, book six.

chamber to be cleared, made me sit down by his bedside, that I might hear the many important things he had to say to me. Those he began with, gave me no great opinion of the rest; but they were such as sat nearest his heart, although they consisted only of domestic uneasinesses, and female quarrels, which I am almost ashamed to entertain the public with. A certain lady, named madam de Rosieres, was the cause of them. The cardinal, either through jealousy, or a disturbed imagination, had taken it into his head, that she hastened his death by magic, to be revenged on him for sowing dissension between her and the abbé de Bellozanne, her favourite: his only consolation was, that if he did not die, his murderers would. My wife had informed him that this madam de Rosieres was dangerously ill; and probably it was upon this information that he had formed his whole dream of magic and death.

HE imparted all these secrets to me with such apparent dejection, that I did not doubt but the full possession, which these extravagant notions had taken of his mind, contributed in a great measure to hasten his death. I endeavoured to bring him back to reason; and he at last was able to speak to me of his other affairs, which he had like to have forgot. Next to madam de Rosieres, the king was the person of whom he complained with greatest bitterness; for his mind was in such a state, that he inveighed most against those whom he loved the best. He asked the king's permission to dispose of his benefices; and his majesty, he said, had not received his request very favourably, which, he added, could only be occasioned by this prince's not having any regard for him, or that he was not sincerely attached to the catholic religion; (for how indeed could he be a good catholic, and disoblige a cardinal?) Afterwards, without considering whom it was he was speaking to, he intreated me to defend the romish religion to the king, to confirm him in it, to prevail upon him to
keep

keep up a close correspondence with the pope, to demand the holy father's benediction, that he might afterwards obtain of him the dissolution of his marriage with queen Margaret of Valois, and be at liberty to marry another princess, by whom he might have children that would secure the crown to the house of Bourbon, and peace and tranquility to France. The end of this discourse was much more judicious than I had reason to expect: nor was the pope's panegyric improperly introduced in it; for it must be confessed that Clement the eighth was not only possessed of great wisdom and justice, but also so good a politician, that the court of Madrid could never boast of having deceived him by their artifices.

THE cardinal afterwards brought the affair of the jesuits upon the carpet; and although, as a man devoted to the court of Rome, he openly favoured them, yet the arguments he made use of to prevail upon me to support them, were founded upon policy and the interest of the king, and so judicious, that I was convinced his understanding was not impaired by sickness, but only on occasions where he was personally concerned. All the steps I took in that affair were in consequence of his eminence's prudent reflections on the danger of banishing the whole society from France in such a conjuncture; for, as we shall soon see, nothing less was in agitation.

A FOURTH affair, which he recommended to me, was to support, against the superintendant, the old archbishop of Glasgow in Ireland, whom he loved and honoured as if he had been a near relation. This archbishop bore the name of Bethune *. The queen

* James de Bethune, archbishop of Glasgow, or Glasgou, in Scotland, and not in Ireland, came to Paris in quality of ambassador in ordinary from the queen of Scotland, and died there in the year 1603, aged eighty-six years; having, during sixty-seven years, suffered great vicissitudes of fortune, after the murder of cardinal de Bethune, archbishop of St. Andrews, his uncle, which happened in the year 1546. His epitaph may be still seen in the church of St. John of Latran. Amclet de la Houssaye, in his Memoirs, mentions the process that

of Scotland his benefactress being dead, all he now desired was to spend the short remnant of his life in peace, far from his native country : but in the superintendant he found an enemy, to whose persecutions he was perpetually exposed, and who seemed resolved to drive him, if possible, out of France. I never could discover the true cause of this hatred ; perhaps it was owing to the attachment this prelate always shewed to the family of the Guises, from whom the queen * of Scotland his mistress was descended. The cardinal said, that it had no other foundation than the interest he took in whatever concerned the archbishop : and it is certain that, as often as his eminence solicited the superintendant in favour of the old prelate, he seemed to be more eagerly bent upon his destruction. The cardinal therefore intreated me to prevail upon the king to take the archbishop under his protection : he had promised to have no concern, for the future, in any affairs, either within or without the kingdom : indeed he was no longer capable of it, nor could his conduct be justly reproached with any fault. To gain me entirely over to his interests, the cardinal told me that this archbishop had so great an affection for me, that he wept continually for my unhappiness in being educated in the protestant religion.

HE resumed again the subject of his benefices, with which he concluded his discourse ; and earn-

Nicolas Denetz, bishop of Orleans, had with Maximilian Francis, duke of Sully, in which it appears that they unjustly disputed the right this family had to the name of Bethune. " However this may be," said he, speaking of this archbishop, " the family of Betun in Scotland, from whence were descended the cardinal archbishop of St. Andrews, and the archbishop of Glasgow, ambassador from queen Mary Stuart in France, where he died in 1660, or 1601, (here is an error in the date) is acknowledged by messieurs de Sully, and de Charost, for a branch of their house." Vol. II. p. 68. Therefore, according to our Memoirs, both the archbishop of Glasgow, and the archbishop of St. Andrews' true name was Bethune, and not Betun.

* Mary of Lorraine, daughter of Claude, duke of Guise, married in the year 1530 to James Stuart, king of Scotland.

estly entreated me to obtain for him his majesty's permission to resign them, confessing that the possession of these benefices had given dreadful uneasiness to the deceased cardinal his uncle, from whom he had them, as well as to himself, some of them having been forcibly taken from families who were the lawful proprietors of them; and his eminence thought he should make a sufficient atonement both for himself and his uncle, and pacify his conscience, by restoring them to the injured persons after his death. He had finished all he had to say to me, when his physician entered the chamber. Duret *, for it was he, having recommended silence to his patient, took upon himself the care of acquainting me with all the secrets of the family, whose confidence he possessed; and he acquitted himself of this task like a man who had a great opinion of his own eloquence, for he wearied me sufficiently. I made no other answer to his tedious harangue, than reiterated promises of serving his eminence.

DURING the three days which I passed at Paris, I was sufficiently convinced of the dangerous correspondences carried on by the count d'Auvergne, d'Entragues, and his wife. Their house was the rendezvous for all the king's enemies, either in the league or the Spanish party: every night they held secret councils against the king's interest and service. Till I should have an opportunity of conferring with his majesty upon the measures necessary to be taken to suppress this wicked cabal, I represented to messieurs de Chiverny †, de Pontcarré, de Bellievre, and Maïsse, that they could not watch too narrowly the motions of these disaffected persons; and I particularly recommended it to Maïsse, whose diligence I was well acquainted with.

* Lewis Duret, lord of Chevy.

† Philip Hurault de Chiverny, or Cheverny, lord chancellor of France.---Camus de Pontcarré, master of the requests. Pomponne de Bellievre. Andrew Hurault sieur de Maïsse; in the following year he was made ambassador to Venice.

I AFTERWARDS applied myself with a particular attention to the affair of the jesuits, against whom a process was actually commenced before the parliament, and vigorously pursued by the university and curates of Paris, who accused them with having monopolized to themselves the education of the youth, and the direction of consciences; represented them as a society very pernicious to the state; and proposed their being banished as such from all the dominions of France. It was far from being certain, that all these enemies of the society would triumph over them, even if the king should not interpose his authority. The jesuits, on this occasion, exerted all their power. The party was already so well supported, that, without laying any stress upon the pope, Spain, and their partisans in the league †, who were not few, one half of the parliament was on their side, and openly solicited in their favour. The cause was at last put into the hands of counsel in the highest fame at the bar: the jesuits retained Duret, and Verforis ‖; and their adversaries Arnaud and Dollé. In Paris nothing was talked of but these two powerful factions.

† The cardinal of Bourbon, the superintendent d'O, Antony Sequire, king's advocate, and a great many others, publicly solicited for the jesuits.

‖ The cause was tried privately, on the 18th of April, 1594. Antony Arnaud pleaded for the university, and Claud Duret, in few words, for the jesuits. Peter Barne, a jesuit, syndic of the college of Clermont, at present the college of Lewis le Grand, defended them more fully by a *factum*, in which were many solid arguments. He there justifies the obedience his society pays to the pope; denies that in any part of their statutes they are permitted to dethrone kings, or to murder tyrants; which, in reality, was a calumny invented by their enemies: he proves, on the contrary, that they were forbid by the court of Rome to concern themselves with any public affairs, &c. A process had been commenced against the jesuits in the parliament by the same parties, thirty years before, concerning their establishment in the kingdom; which was still depending: the parliament, instead of a peremptory decree, made one, by which the petitions of the university and clergy of Paris were added to the instruments of this former process, to be decided together: this they might easily have prevented, and yet they did not. De Thou, b. cx. History of the university of Paris, vol. VI. p. 866, and others.

I REFLECTED upon what the cardinal de Bourbon had represented to me, That there was no extremity to which this order would not proceed, stimulated either by revenge, or by the hope of forcing us to repeal their banishment: That by their intrigues they might animate part of Europe against us, make their persecution be looked upon as an injury offered to religion itself, and bring the king under a suspicion of being secretly attached to that which he had just quitted; which, in the present state of affairs, might have very dangerous consequences, Clement VIII. not having yet been able to resolve upon granting the absolution solicited for at Rome; the king being engaged in one of those enterprises, the event of which is always so uncertain, and often so dangerous; and, in a word, the catholics who had most power in the kingdom, as well those who were at Paris, as those that filled the court, fearing, or seeming to fear, for their own interest, that they had not yet sufficiently provided for the security of the romish religion in France. I was sensible that messieurs de * Longueville, Nevers, and Biron, had publicly expressed themselves to this purpose, and had used all their endeavours to communicate their apprehensions to the cardinal of Bourbon, by means of d'Entragues, d'Humiers, des Sourdis, and others. It is not my design to impute here any bad intentions to these persons; but it is certain, that amongst these zealous catholics there were few who were not actuated by a motive like that of Biron, who did not propagate these sort of discourses till he had lost all hope of obtaining the government of Laon.

BE that as it will, prudence, I thought, required that the authority of the absent king should not be exposed for a quarrel between priests and theologians: and did not doubt but his majesty, in such a case, would chuse the most moderate side. I therefore de-

* Henry d'Orleans, duke of Longueville.

clared to the council, that the king did not think the accusations, which were brought against the jesuits, of sufficient importance to authorise any harsh treatment of them; and that his majesty would be determined by their future behaviour to the state and himself, whether he should banish them, or permit them to continue in France: and that till he had given more positive orders concerning them, he absolutely forbid any violent proceedings against those fathers; that no invectives * should be permitted

* Antony Arnaud pleaded with such vehemence against them, that, according to l'Etoile, who had no kindness for the jesuits, he was blamed for it even by persons who hated these fathers; and that the first president obliged him to be silent. By the epithets which M. de Thou gives to the advocates for the university and clergy, it is plain, that he, like all the other unprejudiced persons, thought they discovered too much heat in their proceedings against the jesuits; although on this occasion, as well as all others, this historian declares himself absolutely against the society. In the Memoirs of the league I find that the enemies of the jesuits raised another complaint against them, but so improbable, that they were forced to drop it; and this was, that they carried children away from their parents, to transport them out of the kingdom.

As to the article relating to the instruction of youth, no one, I believe, will appeal from the decision of a man, whose reflections upon every part of the government are known to be superior to all others. Cardinal Richlieu, in his Political Testament, part i. chap. ii. § 10. after weighing, as was usual with him, the arguments for and against the university and the jesuits, decides the question in these terms: "Neither reason nor justice allow, that we should deprive an antient professor of that he has a right to hold: and the general interest cannot suffer a society, not only respectable for their piety, but celebrated for their doctrine, as the jesuits are, to be prevented from the exercise of a function which they perform with great utility for the public . . . It is reasonable, therefore, that the university and the jesuits should both be allowed to teach, that each, through an emulous desire of excelling the other, may be animated to a full exertion of their powers; and that the sciences may be secured to the state, by being resigned to the care of their guardians; so that if one party should happen to lose so sacred a charge, it may be found with the other."

With regard to the direction of consciences, this great minister gave into the general opinion, that by that, and the instruction of children of quality, the jesuits became masters of the secrets of the hearts, and the affairs of all families; but still thinking it would be unjust, to interdict the society from this office of the sacred ministry, any more than other priests; whether secular or regular; he contented himself

in the pleadings against them; and even that their cause should be tried in full court. No person expected to find in me a protector of the jesuits; and I may say, without vanity, that my recommendation of them at that time would not have been usefess, although I had not strengthened it with the king's authority. In effect, no farther progress was made in this affair.

THE respect I owed to the cardinal of Bourbon made me resolve to speak to the superintendant in favour of the archbishop of Glasgow: though I knew well what I had to expect from a man so little solicitous to conceal the hatred he bore to my whole family, and which a late quarrel with my youngest brother had augmented. I hoped to find more justice from the king, and I hastened to join him at Laon, after taking leave of the cardinal, who continued still extremely ill.

AT Bruyeres, where I had left my field equipage, I learned that the duke of Maienne, being in constant expectation of a great army, which count Charles of Mansfield was to bring him, had advanced with some troops as far as La-Fere, and twice attempted to throw a supply of one hundred horse and two hundred arquebusers into Laon; that the first

himself with making this one of the arguments for not leaving to the jesuits alone the instruction of the youth of the kingdom. The *Chronologie Septenaire*, a work of which the *French Mercury* is the sequel, appears to have done more towards the clearing up this affair, than all the other memorials of those times, by the candour and impartiality with which it is written, as well as the comprehensive manner, of treating it. The *Septenaire*, I say, speaking of the great use the jesuits have been to this kingdom in particular, by their erudition, and their zeal against innovators; by the purity of their theological tenets; and by their missions; from hence it draws up a panegyric, for which we must refer to the book itself, fol. 349, and which is so much the more remarkable, that it was done at the time when jealousy gave rise to the blackest accusations against the jesuits. The author of this piece of history, although his name is not prefixed, is the same father Victor Cayet who composed the *Chronologie Novenaire*, where there is an exact relation of this process against the jesuits, *Ann.* 1594. B. vi. p. 379, 407.

was defeated by Givry, and the second by the count of Soissons, whose turn it was that day to guard the trench: that the king gave always a glorious example to the princes and officers, and mounted guard in the trenches in his turn.

HIS majesty was in bed when I arrived at his quarters, although it was three o'clock in the afternoon: he asked me if I was not surprized to find him in bed at such an hour: this bed, however, was only two mattresses upon the bare ground. All night, and the preceding day, this prince had been standing at the trench, where he was employed in directing works to be made in the mountain, upon the declivity of which Laon is situated, either to change the place of some batteries, or to shelter the workmen by parapets. He was so greatly fatigued standing upon the ground, which was extremely rugged, that several contusions rose in his feet, which did not, however, hinder him from staying to see the work carried on till all these contusions bursting, each of his feet became one continued wound, which obliged him to be put to bed, and some dressings to be applied to them; these he ordered to be changed in my presence, "That you may be convinced," said he, "I do not act the sick man unseasonably." I was very far, indeed, from entertaining such a thought, and if I accused him of any thing, it was of the contrary excess. I believe he perceived it; for seeking, as it were, to justify himself, he told me, that he was under a necessity of undertaking and superintending this work, which would give him two days advance upon the besieged city; and that I would not condemn him after I had seen it, or, at least, heard an account of it from the connoisseurs whom he had sent to visit it, and whose return he expected at five o'clock.

I took advantage of this opportunity of being alone with the king to give him an account of my journey, which I did, kneeling on a cushion which

he made me bring to the bedside. His majesty, desirous of authorizing what I had done, ordered Beau-lieu-Rufé to write three letters instantly; the first, which was addressed to the chancellor, regarded the jesuits, and contained only a repetition of what I had said. In the second, he informed d'O, that it was his intention the archbishop of Glasgow should enjoy the only two abbeys * he had in France peaceably, and justified this prelate's past conduct by the gratitude he owed his benefactress. The third, to the cardinal of Bourbon, was written in the name of Loménie, secretary of state, who made known to his eminence, that the king would approve of the disposition he should make of his benefices, and was ready to ratify it, by signing himself the form he should send him, provided he found in it nothing contrary to the canons, the liberties, and the customs of the kingdom. He concluded this letter with an assurance of his protection and friendship; and as a proof of his confidence, sent the two others under cover to him, that he might transmit them himself to the persons they were directed to; and had the complaisance to acquaint him with the contents. I desired Du-Peirats, whom the king sent with these three letters to Paris, to deliver one from me to the cardinal, in which I exhorted him, by every thing that I thought could make any impression upon his mind, to free himself from all his domestic uneasinesses.

THESE affairs were but just over before the arrival of messieurs de Biron, Givry, Saint-Luc, Marivault, Parabere, Vignoles, Fouquieres, and others whom the king had sent to examine his works of the preceding day, particularly two mines which he had caused to be opened. Every one gave his opinion of them, to shew his own skill: they could not agree, and a dispute insensibly arose amongst them: marshal Biron, vain of his great talents for war, by an

* Nôtre-Dame de l'Abbie in Poitou, and the priory of St. Peter of Pontoise.

assuming air, and a superiority of accent which made him always master of the conversation, could with difficulty bear to hear any one declare himself of an opinion contrary to his.

THE king, perceiving that words grew high amongst them, in order to oblige them to silence, told them he had received notice from three spies, who came one after the other from different places, that the duke of Maienne and the count of Mansfield had resolved, at all hazards, to throw a very considerable convoy of ammunition and provisions into Laon, in order to avoid a battle; and that this convoy was to set out instantly upon its march, supported by a very powerful escorte, with a design to surprize the guard, force themselves a passage, and enter into the besieged city. This afforded a new subject for contestation, which ended at last in Biron's favour, who procured the command of a strong detachment, with which he intended to post himself in the forest between Laon and La-Fere, and to attack both the escorte and the convoy. He composed the detachment himself, which consisted of twelve hundred French infantry, all chosen men, eight hundred Swiss, three hundred light horse, two hundred troopers, and one hundred gentlemen of the king's household. I asked the king's permission to go along with this detachment, which he refused me several times, alledging, that there were many things which he wanted me to inform him of; but, upon my repeated importunities, he allowed me to go.

WE began our march at six o'clock in the afternoon, and reached the forest at one in the morning, where we advanced cautiously to the extremity of the wood near La-Fere; here we lay in ambuscade. Marechal Biron detained all the passengers we met on the great road, who he thought might carry intelligence of his design into La-Fere; and placed centinels on horseback at the end of the wood, to bring him an exact information of whatever came

out of the city. We waited with great impatience till four o'clock in the afternoon, before we heard any news; and then the centinels came to inform us, that the great road from La-Fere to Laon was covered with so long a file of soldiers, and such a vast quantity of baggage of every kind, that they could imagine nothing else but that the whole army of the enemy was advancing. That instant I perceived several of the most resolute amongst us look pale, and whisper to each other that it was necessary to make our retreat. This, many of us opposed; and the commander declaring himself for this last opinion, it was agreed upon by a plurality of voices, that some one of the troop should be sent to reconnoitre, and bring back an exact account of what he saw. Fouquieroles, whose valour and prudence was well known, was chosen, with two others, for this employment; and returning a little time afterwards, informed us, that this seemingly formidable line was composed of three hundred carts, laden with ammunition, escorted by four squadrons of one hundred horse each, who marched before the convoy, followed by eight or nine hundred musqueteers, an equal number of Spanish infantry brought up the rear.

THIS number not being equal to ours, it was agreed upon, with one voice, that we should attack them; and we only differed upon the manner of doing it: I, with many others, were of opinion, that it would be better to let the convoy enter the forest, and afterwards fall upon them in the rear. Givry*, Montigny, and Marivault, who were at the head of the cavalry, were for the negative, and maintained so positively, that there was less danger in attacking them in the open field, that they drew marechal Biron into this opinion. At first this method succeeded; the cavalry of the enemy gave way as soon

* Anne d'Anglure, baron of Givry. He was killed at Laon a few days after this encounter, and greatly lamented by Henry IV. Francis de la Grange, lord de Montigny: he is mentioned again. Claude de Picqueur, sieur de Marivault.

as they were attacked, though at the beginning they shewed great resolution, and retired to the sides of the waggons : but we soon found whom we had to deal with ; the enemy's infantry which were in front waited firmly for our troopers, whom Biron sent to attack them, and fired upon them with such excellent order, as obliged them to give ground. Biron commanded them to return to the charge by the left flank, while he attacked the right, which was evidently the least dangerous. The onset was so terrible, that the enemy's foot was forced to retire, and, like the other squadrons, take shelter in the midst of the carts, from whence they still continued to defend themselves : in the mean time the Spanish battalion advanced from the rear to the front, and formed itself in such a manner, that it was supported on all sides by the cavalry and the waggons, without losing the assistance of the first battalion : they made so vigorous a defence, that all Biron's intreaties and menaces could not hinder our six hundred horse from quitting the fight, extremely weakened. The Swiss and French infantry, who took their place, found equal resistance. The battle lasted a long time. Biron apprehending, that an action which passed so near La-Fere would give time for a considerable supply to be sent to the convoy, if it was not very speedily ended, for a last resource, commanded the hundred gentlemen to dismount, to add to their other arms, which consisted of a sword and pistol, a pike, of which he had brought a great quantity along with us ; and to bring up to the charge all our foot, both French and Swiss, which had not yet encountered the Spaniards. Messieurs de Guitry *, de Montig-

* This is not John de Chaumont de Guitry, who has been so often mentioned in the History and in these Memoirs ; he died in the year 1592. See his panegyric in M. de Thou, book ciii. The person mentioned here was, according to Cayet, called so, because he married the heiress of this family. Chron. Novenn. b. iv. p. 23. But Cayet is mistaken ; John de Chaumont left several sons, who bore arms in the king's service.

ny, de Marivault, de Trigny, d'Arambure, de la Curée, de Lopes, d'Heures, and others, advanced in this manner at the head of three hundred foot; and Biron, with an equal number, followed them. I was in the second battalion. They charged us with such fury, that the pike and fusée became useless; we fought hand to hand, and even wrestled with each other. The Spaniards at length gave ground, and, after throwing away their arms †, fled for shelter to the woods and waggons. This last refuge was of no service to them; we pursued them there, and made a horrible carnage of them: no less than twelve hundred were left dead upon the place. We took but few prisoners. Those persons that were of any distinction in the cavalry, had time to get back to La-Fere. We neither pursued them, nor the others who had taken shelter in the woods, lest we should be surpris'd and put into disorder by new troops sent from La-Fere to their assistance: on the contrary, we only thought of rallying, and keeping upon our guard, during the time that was necessary to rest and refresh ourselves with some of those provisions of which we found great abundance in the convoy. In the night we marched back to the camp, and brought thither, without meeting with any obstacle, all the enemy's baggage, but so pillaged by the soldiers, and so carelessly looked after, notwithstanding the commander's strict orders concerning it, that above four hundred war or baggage horses were lamed.

BIRON, with the same supercilious air which he had assumed to procure the command in this expedition, presented himself to his majesty at his return, to receive the praises due to his success. Having a subject so copious to discuss, one may easily imagine what a man, who knew not that on such occasions

† La Curée, who was a good judge in these matters, attributes the Spaniards' defeat to their custom of using too long swords, and waists-belts too short. Vol. 8929. MSS. de la Biblioth. du Roi.

silence is merit, would say to enhance the greatness of his victory. Indeed his discourse seemed to insinuate that he had that moment fixed the crown upon the king's head. Experience has shewn that this haughtiness which borders a little upon boasting, of itself sufficiently in the French taste, commonly succeeds with a general who has Frenchmen to lead: with them to seem sure of a victory, goes a great way towards gaining it. The king was not ignorant of this disposition; and he had found very happy consequences from it, on those hazardous occasions, when the soldiers fought only in the countenance and words of their leader, the idea they ought to have of the present danger. Hence a seeming confidence of success became habitual to him, which was imitated by all the general officers; and, as it often happens, many of them, but particularly marechal Biron, carried that confidence so far as to become insupportable to all the others, and even to the king himself, who was not on this occasion the less indulgent.

THE obliging reception which his majesty gave to Biron, and those that had followed him, created great jealousy in the courtiers who were not of the party, and completely turned Biron's head. However, he could not obtain the government of Laon, which was what he aimed at by exalting his last action, and arrogating all the glory of it to himself alone, as if the others had had no part in it. The king discovered his thoughts of it freely to me, and seemed on many accounts greatly discontented with this marechal. His majesty told me, that after so many causes of complaint which Biron had given him, after his having dared even lately to threaten him with going over to his enemies, and the discoveries he had just made of the correspondence he carried on with messieurs d'Épernon, and d'Auvergne, he could not resolve to trust him with the care of a place so near the Low Countries as Laon,

which ought only to be given to a man * whose fidelity had been tried ; but he feared, he said, that Biron would keep no measures after this refusal, and would openly join the party against him, or, what was still more dangerous, continue near his person, while he secretly sided with his enemies. Henry, who from this moment was persuaded that he would one day have all this to fear from Biron, added, that he perceived this marechal had sought my friendship for some time, doubtless with an intention to procure my concurrence to a marriage between his brother, and mademoiselle de Saint-Geniés †, my niece, who was one of the greatest fortunes in France ; and he ordered me to take advantage of this new friendship, to penetrate into his designs.

THE great convoy being defeated, the king, without any obstacle, continued the siege of Laon, till he received notice that the duke of Maïenne, and the count of Mansfield, far from being disheartened by this bad success, talked of nothing less than coming to force the lines of the besiegers, as soon as they had received some troops they were in expectation of. Biron treated this news with contempt ; but his majesty, who neglected nothing, was not easy about it, till Givry, whom he had sent to reconnoitre, escorted by three hundred horse, with strict orders not to return without a perfect knowledge of the situation and forces of the enemy, brought him, at the end of three days, certain intelligence that there was not a single company of them on this side of the Oise ; and that the Spaniards were more inclined to return to Flanders than to Laon. The king, relying upon the justness of this report, that very evening made a party to go and dine the next day at St. Lambert, a house dependent upon the domain of Navarre,

* This government was given to Marivault.

† Daughter of Elias de Gontault, lord de Badefou, and Sain-Geniés, governor of Bearn, viceroy of Navarre, and of Jacqueline de Bethune, monsieur de Roigny's sister.

and situated in the midst of the forest, where he remembered to have often gone to eat fruit, milk, and new cheese, during the time that in his youth he had staid in the castle of Marle; and he still promised himself great pleasure in seeing it again.

ABOUT thirty of us attended him to St. Lambert, where, as he had passed part of the preceding night in visiting as usual the trenches, batterics, and mines, he fell asleep as soon as he dined: his good constitution, joined to a habit of fatigue, had accustomed him to sleep in any place, and when he pleased, and to awake at any hour. The weather being then extremely hot, eight or ten of us went into the thickest part of the forest †, not far from the great road leading from La-Fere to Laon. We had not gone farther than twelve or fifteen hundred paces, when a noise that came from that side near La-Fere drew all our attention; it seemed to be a confused mixture of human voices, smacking of whips, neighing of horses, and a noise like the distant sound of trumpets and drums. That we might hear more plainly, we came forwards to the road, from whence we saw distinctly, eight hundred paces before us, a column of infantry, which appeared to us to be foreigners, marching in good order, and without any noise: that which we had heard proceeded from the servants and vagabonds who followed, and those that conducted a considerable convoy of artillery which guarded it. Extending our view as far as it was possible, so great a number of troops appeared to us to defile after these waggons, that we did not doubt but the enemy's whole army was there.

WE returned immediately, and found the king awake, shaking a plum-tree, of whose fruit he seemed very fond. "Faith, sire, said we, some men that have passed us just now, will prepare other plums for you not quite so easy of digestion." We explained ourselves in few words; and the king

† The Forest of Folambray.

the more readily believed us, having, as he told us, heard a noise during the space of a quarter of an hour, which (not being able to imagine that Givry could have acquitted himself so ill of his commission) he thought had proceeded from his own camp. His majesty ordered twelve of us, who were ready at hand, to go instantly to the different quarters of the cavalry (a list of which he always carried in his pocket) to spread the alarm there, and bring them all with the utmost expedition to his quarter, while at the same time others were sent to the infantry to form them into battalions, and post them between the same quarter and the trenches. He gave these orders as he was mounting his horse, and although he rode with great swiftness, he continued giving them to all he met, with the same justness and extent of thought as if he had been long before prepared for a battle. Such was this prince's quickness of apprehension, and admirable presence of mind, that nothing escaped him; whereas any other, in the same situation, instead of forming a well regulated plan, would have been hardly able to have fixed upon a tolerable expedient. The enemies upon their arrival found every one prepared for them; to which perhaps the whole army owed its preservation: for it must be confessed, that if the enemy's cavalry, which at the same instant appeared in the front of the camp, where they formed themselves into squadrons with great expedition, had only been able to have thrown the soldiers into a consternation, which the king and part of the officers being absent, must infallibly have happened by an effect of the first surprize; it would have been easy for them, amidst that sudden confusion, to have defeated great part of the army, and probably fear might have delivered up the rest into their power.

THIS example is alone sufficient to prove of what utility it is for a general of an army, not only to possess that quality of the mind which takes in all possible

sible contingencies, but to be well acquainted with the names, abilities, good and bad qualities of all the officers, as well as the different bodies which compose his army, and in his turn to be known by it for him of all the general officers, whose advice (the quality of leader apart) they would chuse in any difficult conjuncture to follow, as the wisest and best; to give that advice with firmness, but without the ostentation which seems to arise from the certainty of having found out the best; to inspire them with a fondness for their occupation; to render their discipline pleasing, by never oppressing them with orders, but at the same time to accustom them never to expect that those already established, will on any occasion whatever be dispensed with or diminished; in a word, to possess the art of making himself be at all times readily obeyed by them, without inspiring that timidity which keeps them silent, when by a seasonable hint they might assist the thoughts of their leader; an inconvenience which has often been the ruin of many armies, and their commanders.

NOTWITHSTANDING the expedition the king used on this occasion, if the enemy's general had taken advantage of the opportunity which chance had given him, it is probable we might have suffered a considerable shock; but knowing the prince he had to deal with, he durst not suffer the van of his army to appear, till the whole was come out of the forest, that one part might be deprived of the assistance of the other, in case the king should be informed of his march, and meet him with his entire army. It happened also, that the march of this army was protracted by the breaking of a carriage, upon which a piece of ordnance was placed, which embarrassed them greatly. The waggons split in pieces when the convoy was defeated, the luggage of which, with the bodies of men and horses, overspread the road, caused a second embarrassment still greater: and lastly, the person whom the duke of Malsone had

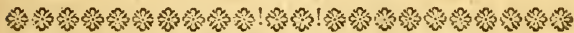
sent to reconnoitre a place proper for pitching his camp, did not return so speedily as he might have done.

THE king took advantage of all these delays. He drew out from the trenches as many men as were sufficient to cover them, without leaving too few within, and ranged the rest of his army in order of battle before, when the enemies, who no longer hoped to surprize him, gave him time. That day was employed on each side in chusing the most advantageous posts for a battle. It was not however the intention of the two generals of the enemy to engage; they dreaded the king's ascendant, and our cavalry, which was almost all composed of gentlemen. Their whole design by this motion was to oblige the king to raise the siege of Laon by coming to meet them, and afterwards to evade a battle, or throw, at least, in the confusion caused by their arrival, three thousand foot, and three hundred troopers into the place; but as we did not know their intention till afterwards that we were informed of it by some prisoners whom we took, it was not doubted but that there would be a general action the next day; our two camps being so near, that we heard distinctly the sound of their trumpets, and the shouts of their soldiers.

IN the midst of the ground that separated us from the enemies, there was one single hill almost round, which, with regard to the besieged city, might be of great importance, if the enemy should possess themselves of it. The king, who had sent me to reconnoitre it, gave me two pieces of cannon, to support a regiment that were by his order to post and fortify themselves there. I caused a hut to be erected for myself, and when the king came to visit this post, he found every thing in good order. The next day the enemy, making a shew of greater resolution than the evening before, began a skirmish with all their small shot, and endeavoured to make themselves

elves masters of a little wood which lay between the two camps. Above fifty thousand small arms were fired; but with so little effect that Parabere, who came to my hut to sup with me, assured me, that they had not twenty men slain, nor twice that number wounded.

NIGHT coming on during this tumult; and the two generals of the enemy's army, who thought of nothing less than engaging farther, took advantage of it to retreat, without being discovered, to La-Fere. The king suffered them to fly, contenting himself with the disgrace they had drawn upon themselves by this ridiculous attempt.



B O O K VII.

IContinued no longer in the camp before Laon after this event. Some difficulties which arose in the treaties, particularly that with the baron de Méday, obliged me, in obedience to his majesty's orders, to take a journey to Rouen, which was followed by a second to Paris, and another, more considerable than both, to Sedan.

THE duke of Bouillon gave daily new occasions of discontent to the king. When, through his majesty's interest, he had married the heiress of Sedan, he had promised to bring him a certain number of troops: but he not only neglected to perform this promise, but also retained, without asking the king's permission, the troops which he had lent him to guard his frontier, till he was in peaceable possession of his new principality; nor did he make any excuse for not sending them back, or give him any account of the situation of his affairs. His new grandeur inspired him with the vanity of making himself be looked upon as a formidable potentate in Europe. This, which he could not hope from a state so weak

and confined as his, he sought to obtain by all sorts of artifices and intrigues in the neighbouring courts. All the malecontents in Europe were sure of finding a protector in him, and he was the main spring that gave motion to the cabals of Auvergne and Entragues.

ONE day when the king sent for me so early in the morning that I found him in bed, having only Ozeray and Armagnac in his apartment, and that we were all consulting upon measures to prevent the dangerous designs of so many secret enemies, his majesty dwelt in particular upon the duke of Bouillon, and seemed greatly affected with his ingratitude, after having conferred an obligation on him which ought to have bound him for ever to his interests. In effect, the king, by promoting his marriage with mademoiselle de Bouillon, had given him a proof of friendship so much the stronger, in that he acted against his own judgment, and the advice of all those to whom he had mentioned it. The next day after this conversation had passed, Beringhen presented a gentleman to the king, in his chamber, who brought him a letter from Bouillon, in which the duke informed his majesty of the death of his wife, and excused his delay, by the grief and perplexity into which her death had thrown him. This letter likewise gave the king to understand, that madam de Bouillon had left a will, in which she bequeathed the principality of Sedan and all her estates to her husband, and put them under the protection of the king of France; because it was expected, that her relations would give the duke of Bouillon great disturbance about this donation. "That is to say," said the king, when he had finished the reading the letter, "that the duke of Bouillon has occasion for my assistance: "Is not this a very honourable way of proceeding?" To humble and punish the duke, his majesty was strongly inclined to leave him to struggle alone against these difficulties; but the native sweetness of his

his disposition, and the remembrance of the duke's former services, still influenced him in his favour. He answered the duke by a compliment of condolance upon the death of the dutchess of Bouillon; and assured him of his willingness to assist him. If the king had thought that this last mark of his friendship would have recalled and fixed the duke of Bouillon for ever in his duty, the commission of him whom he sent with this letter would have ended in barely delivering it to the duke; and any inconsiderable person might have sufficed for that: but this prince, accustomed to confer benefits only on the ungrateful, would make this deputation answer several purposes. He turned towards me, and told me, that in his opinion I was the properest person to carry this letter, because if of itself it was not able to make Bouillon adhere constantly to his duty, the arguments of a man, who had a right to represent it to him strongly, might perhaps accomplish it; and thus, if neither produced the desired effect, it was necessary to penetrate into the duke's secret designs, and to examine carefully the will and the supposed donation of madam de Bouillon.

THIS embassy seemed too like that which had drawn the hatred of the princess and count of Soissons upon me; and my first emotions upon receiving it were caused by my grief that the king's service generally engaged me in such affairs. Henry, who guessed part of my thoughts, forgot nothing which he imagined capable of lessening what was disagreeable in this commission: he told me, That the successes which fortune seemed to annex to all affairs wherein I was employed, as a reward due to my fidelity, induced him to chuse me, preferably to any other, to transact this business: That none of my services were lost upon him: And that he took extremely kind the attention I always shewed to avoid or break off any connections which were capable of cooling my zeal for him. Speaking these words,

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he embraced me tenderly; adding, with a kindness that went to my heart, that he earnestly intreated me to be careful of my own security, since I should be obliged to pass through places subject to the Guises, and to preserve myself for a prince who loved me. Princes who behave in this manner cannot be too faithfully served.

It happened very fortunately that I was at that time very well provided with money, having sent for remittances from Rosny and Moret, where my wife was: therefore I saw myself in a condition to satisfy, without delay, the king's impatience for my departure. Three hours after I had received this order I went to Bruyeres, where my equipage lay, and, followed by five and twenty troopers well armed, in four days I arrived, without meeting with any bad accident, within view of Sedan. The duke, being informed of my arrival, came to meet me as far as the village of Torcy, which separates this little state from France: there he alighted, and assumed a melancholy air to receive my compliments, and to read the king's letter. He loaded me with personal civilities; seemed charmed with the choice his majesty had made; and persisted (notwithstanding my repeated instances) to treat me as an ambassador. I was conducted to very magnificent lodgings, and all the expences of my retinue defrayed. He shewed me, with great complaisance, the fortifications he had raised about his castle of Sedan, by which, he assured me, it would be impregnable. I was not of the same opinion: all the expence the duke was at to strengthen this place, could not supply the defect of its situation.

THE siege of Laon, of which the duke enquired some news, afforded us matter for entering into a more particular conversation. After reiterated assurances of his attachment to the king, the duke asked me, if the many subjects of complaint which his majesty had received from the Spanish Low Countries,

Countries, had not determin'd him to carry the war there; and spoke to me of this project, as an affair he ardently wish'd to see executed. He dwelt much upon the advantage of this war; upon the manner in which the provinces of Luxembourg, Liege, and Namur, might be attacked; upon the correspondences which, with this view, he carried on in the principal cities of Flanders; and upon the powerful assistance he offer'd to lead there. It was not difficult to believe, that he had us'd his utmost endeavours to promote a war, of which all the advantage would be his: but it was far from being so with the king. His interest was not concern'd in it; and with regard to him, this fine project was a mere chimera. Indeed the duke, fearing that at court it would be treated with contempt, omitted nothing which he thought might bring me to approve of it, by painting it in the finest colours, and with an air of disinterestedness capable of imposing upon me. After having thus discours'd upon Flanders, he plunged into politics, and display'd all the powers of his eloquence in proving to me, that, it being the king's chief interest to depress the house of Austria, he could never attain this end but by keeping up a strict union with the protestants. The king's late abjuration he suppos'd was but a necessary ceremony, which had only chang'd him in appearance; and which he thought to prove sufficiently, by two or three strokes of raillery upon some superstitious practices of devout catholics, upon the mendicant monks, and the equivocations of the jesuits †.

THE duke of Bouillon stopp'd here, like a man who was afraid to explain himself too freely, and look'd upon me earnestly with a feign'd inquietude. Hitherto I had list'ned to him without interruption;

† The duke de Bouillon was generally known for so hot-headed and furious a calvinist, that praise or blame from his mouth, on the opinions as well as on the persons of catholics, was almost of equal weight.

and discovered, without his perceiving it, all the ideas which rose in that ambitious brain. But many things still remained to be known, for which it was only necessary to let him speak a long time; for it is not possible but that a man, who is at once extremely vain, and a great talker, should, at length, betray all his secrets: I therefore forced a smile into my countenance, and assumed the air of one filled with admiration of his wit, his policy, and his eloquence. The duke's self-love thus agreeably flattered, he did not wait for much intreaty, but resuming his discourse, he went on to make me sensible of the true interest of the protestants, in the situation affairs were at present in France. Here it became necessary for me to supply, by my own surmises, what he left unsaid; either because the duke of Bouillon's expression suffered a little from the constraint he laid himself under, for fear of falling into some indiscretion †, or that he thought the affectation of a mysterious air did more honour to himself and the party, or indeed, that his discourse was built on a system so sublime, and ideas so abstracted, that he likewise was lost in it as well as I.

I RECALLED the duke from this too elevated flight; and he told me in terms more plain, that the protestants were so much disgusted at the king's conversion, that he could allay their apprehensions no

† The true character of the duke de Bouillon, is thus given us: "On set purpose he used to express himself," says the writer of his life, "in so dark and perplexed a manner, that he could give to what he spoke any sense that he pleased. He pretended that there were some nice conjunctures, in which a man must either be silent, or follow his manner of speaking." Another maxim of the duke de Bouillon's according to the same writer, was, "That a man ought to be very cautious of giving any thing under his hand. A man interprets what he has spoken as he pleases; and he agrees only to so much of it as he thinks proper, retrenching a more or less. He approves or disapproves as he thinks convenient. But the case is not the same with regard to what is written, &c." M. de Sully was of a quite contrary opinion. We may find some politicians, who will not condemn the duke de Bouillon; but none who does not commend the duke de Sully,

otherwise, than by declaring war against Spain conjointly with them; that, unless this was done, it would be impossible to persuade them that they were not made a sacrifice of, and for the future would be always exposed to the violences of the French catholics acting in concert with the pope and the Spaniards. This piece of intelligence, from the proof he brought of it, it is probable the duke himself thought as false as it really was. He said that Villeroy was commissioned by the dukes of Lorraine, Maïenne, and Mercœur, to propose to the king, who was then at Fontainebleau, this union between France and Spain; and that the pope would not have refused the king his apostolic benediction, with a bull, acknowledging him king of France, but because he would have this union the preliminary. To this proof Bouillon added others equally groundless, by which he thought to make it appear that the catholics had wholly estranged the king from the protestants, and had prevailed upon him to use them with great injustice. The grievances of the protestants thus established, the duke was willing to inform me of the remedy they had thought proper to apply. They were preparing, he said, to fortify immediately all their strong towns, to chuse a leader out of the kingdom, and within it, (but the place he did not name) to establish a general council for the affairs of religion, to which all the different churches were to address themselves, and which was to determine, in the last resort, all the affairs of the ten other provincial councils, into which the calvinist part of France was to be divided; and that the power of this sovereign council might be absolute and uncontested, a protector or foreign prince was to be put at its head, capable of making it respected.

WHILST he was talking of these subjects, the duke of Bouillon, according to the occasion he had to dazzle, convince, or deceive me, assumed successively the character of a friend and ally of the king's,
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a good protestant, or a mere relator of facts, but always that of a man consummate in the politician's art, and the depository of all the secret affairs of the protestants. He could not, however, involve himself so well in mystery, but that I comprehended plainly enough, that all these schemes of high and low councils, these regulations so particularised, might very probably have their rise in the duke's own brain, and not in the synods of St. Maixant, and St. Foi, as he would have had me believe. This foreign prince for protector, especially, seemed to me to be entirely his own invention, and in reality himself, who gave his own views for determined schemes, and whose sole end (for what springs will not ambition put in motion?) was perhaps merely this; that by communicating these designs to the court, as if the calvinists had really performed them, and were ready to put them in execution, I should raise the king's indignation against them; and by this artifice he would oblige the huguenots to take such a resolution as he wished, but durst not openly inspire them with; which was, to chuse him for a leader, whom the hatred and complaints of the catholics pointed out to them for a defender. All that happened in the sequel has but the more confirmed me in this belief.

AFTER having thus, as he imagined, made me subservient to his designs, the duke reflected that he should lose more than he gained, if the king, of whose assistance he stood in need, should entertain any suspicion to his disadvantage; he therefore reserved a most refined stroke of policy for the last. This was to assure me, that these proposals had indeed been made him; but that, far from approving them, or offering his assistance, he had done every thing in his power to prevent such designs taking place; in which he had not the good fortune to succeed. Can any thing be imagined more treacherous and crafty! Certainly, if the duke of Bouillon was
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able to flatter himself, that these arts would leave me in absolute ignorance of the affairs of the protestants, and the dispositions of the seditious, he could not hinder me from perceiving at least some of his own particular sentiments with regard to the prince whom he betrayed.

I COULD no otherwise answer a discourse so full of artifice, than by confining myself to plain and simple truths, which is the most effectual way to disconcert these so curiously-disguised politicians. I assured him, in a few words, that the king was not, nor ever would be, changed with regard to the protestants; that he was willing to grant them all the advantages they could reasonably demand, but that the present situation of his affairs would oblige him to defer some time longer those testimonies of his friendship: that his majesty had not forgot any of those causes which Spain had given him to hate her: and that he would always preserve a lively resentment of them, even if he were not to enter into the common concern of Europe, to put a stop to the design of the house of Austria for universal monarchy; but that, in order to secure success, it was necessary that all should be quiet within his kingdom, since it might be expected that Spain would defend herself in a different manner, when she saw herself directly attacked, than she had done in a war, wherein she had only engaged as an auxiliary.

I TOLD the duke de Bouillon, that I readily believed all he said to me with regard to himself, since he must be sensible that the principles of honour, justice, and gratitude, pointed out to him too plainly the conduct he ought to observe with the king, to leave him a possibility of mistaking it. He refused me the troops I demanded for Henry, nor would he permit me even to peruse madam de Bouillon's last will; saying, that she had sealed it in a casket, and exacted a promise from him, that he would not open it but with the usual forms of law, if any one should
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question the validity of it; and that she had afterwards obliged him to confirm this promise with an oath. It was not difficult for me to comprehend that any remonstrances from me would be useleſs; therefore my commiſſion being now completed, I reſolved to return immediately to Laon.

I WAS greatly ſurprized, on my arrival at the camp, to meet the king, who was going to hunt, paſſing ſo near the walls of the city that he was within muſquet-ſhot of it: but I was ſoon informed that both ſides had lain down their arms, the city having capitulated upon condition to ſurrender in ten days, if within that time they were not aſſiſted by an army, or at leaſt if a reinforcement of eight or nine hundred men were not thrown into the place. Henry made me keep cloſe beſide him during the chace, that he might hear all the particulars of my journey. When I told him that the duke of Bouillon reſuſed to ſhew me the will of the deceaſed duchefs, he replied, that he knew from thence what he ought to think of the donation †. He entertained

† In order to deſtroy the ſuſpicions which the whole of this account might raiſe as to the reality of that donation of the duchefs of Bouillon, I will give you what the duke de Bouillon's biographer ſays on this head. "By her laſt will," ſays he, "ſhe appointed the duke de Bouillon, her huſband, her univerſal heir. It was currently reported that, notwithstanding this laſt will of the duchefs, the ſucceſſion would be conteſted with her huſband: the truth is, Charles de la Mark, the count de Mauleverie, uncle to Charlotte de la Mark, alledged that this ſucceſſion belonged to him, and that ſhe could not diſpoſe of it, in favour of her huſband, to his prejudice. The duke de Montpenſier pretended likewise, that the ſovereignities of Bouillon, Sedan, Jamets, and Raucourt, could not be conteſted with him; as he had been ſubſtituted therein by Robert de la Mark, the laſt duke of Bouillon. The duke de Bouillon thought it more eligible to accommodate matters with theſe two claimants, than to engage in a law-ſuit, which would divert him from the execution of his grand deſigns: the accommodation was concluded; and the ſovereign jurisdiction of Bouillon, Sedan, and Raucourt, remained in property to him." Hiſt. de Henry duc de Bouillon, par Marſolier, tom. II. liv. iv. This hiſtorian likewise ſpeaks of the duke de Sully's journey to Sedan, and of the protection which Henry IV. offered the duke de Bouillon on this occaſion. But here we cannot but obſerve, that it would have been much better not to quote, on
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the same opinion of the duke of Bouillon as I did, "who offers," said he, "to be a mediator in disturbances which he himself has been the author of." Nor was he less displeas'd at his refusing to send the troops he demand'd: but in the present conjuncture it was necessary that his majesty should dissemble all these occasions of discontent with the duke; and therefore, in public, he seem'd to be very well satisfi'd with his conduct, and determin'd to maintain him in Sedan. With respect to the war with Spain, which I was commission'd to propose to him, he deferr'd deliberating on it to another time, in full council.

THE count of Sommerive, du Bourg, and Jeanin, finding it impossible for them to prevent the insurrection of the citizens and the garrison of Laon, who were incens'd against them as tyrants that had rendered their domination insupportable, thought proper to yield before the time prescribed for delivering the city to the king. They had no longer any hopes of assistance after the misfortune which happen'd to a reinforcement the duke of Maienne endeavour'd to throw into the place. This reinforcement coming too late near Laon, to have any hopes of surprizing the besiegers, thought it best to wait for night in the wood, where they kept themselves conceal'd all day. The king hunting in that part of the forest at the same time, his dogs discover'd the ambuscade. The enemies, although eight or nine hundred in number, instead of shewing themselves, or attacking the king, who had only three hundred horse with him, thought they should be able to avoid

this subject, Sully's Memoirs, than to disguise their sense, and conceal, as he has done, the objection that arises from the text of these Memoirs: and this so much the rather (it would be to no purpose to dissemble it, after all that has been said of it, and very lately, by Amelot de la Houffaye, in his Memoirs, in the article Bouillon la Mark) so much the rather, I say, as Henry IV. and the duke de Sully, are not the only persons who seem to doubt of the reality of such donation.

an absolute discovery by separating, the better to conceal themselves: but the dogs still continued to pursue them, and the king's troop arriving in the mean time, they were surprized in so great a disorder, that our footmen and servants only, without any assistance from the three hundred horsemen, made themselves masters of them, and pillaged them entirely.

AFTER the surrender of Laon, the king judged it necessary to take a journey to the frontiers of Flanders; his chief inducement to it being the hopes that many of these cities would surrender to him at his approach. The event did not answer his expectations; and his majesty drew no other advantage from his journey, than confirming in their allegiance Amiens, Abbeville, Montreuil, Peronne, and several other cities, into each of which he made a solemn entry. I can say no more of the transactions here, the king's service calling me at that time to Paris upon affairs of less importance than the former, and which for that reason I shall not enter into a particular detail of, any more than of what had passed in the different provinces of the kingdom. The reduction of Morlais, and Quimper, by marechal * d'Aumont, with the assistance of the English forces; the building of Fort du Croisic, by the duke of Mercœur, at the head of the Spaniards, to be a check upon Brest, were the most considerable exploits of the two parties in Brittany. Savoy, Piedmont, Provence and Dauphiné, continued to be the theatre of a † war always favourable to Lesdiguières, against the duke of Savoy, notwithstanding the defeat and taking ‡ of Crequy.

* He was killed the following year when besieging Comper, by a cannon-ball that broke his arm to shatters; being upwards of seventy years of age: he said no more when he found himself wounded, than these words, *I have got it.* He was generally esteemed, and generally regretted. See his eulogy and great qualities in M. de Thou, b. cxliii.

† See these military expeditions in the historians.

‡ Charles de Crequy, son-in-law to Lesdiguières, coming to the relief

THE duke of Maïenne, seeing Laon taken, almost all Picardy in the king's party, the chief officers of the league, and the duke of Guise himself, disposed to treat soon of an accommodation with his majesty, yielded at last to the advice of the president Jeannin||, who had long pressed him to fix himself in one particular province, and there make powerful efforts in time, to render himself independent; so that, after fortune had subjected all to the king, which he doubted not would soon happen, he might at least have secured a retreat to shelter him in the reverse of his.

BURGUNDY was the province § fixed upon by the duke of Maïenne; and he marched thither with his forces, after placing good garrisons in Dourlens, La-Fere, and Soissons. Besides his being already in possession of great part of this province, its contiguity to Savoy, Franche Comté, Lorrain, Switzerland, and Germany, from whence he hoped to draw great supplies, was a farther inducement for him to fix there. The pope, and the emperor, seemed to enter into his views: he might strengthen his right of conquest, by a resignation in form, which Spain would grant him so much the more willingly, as by that means she would revive a claim upon Burgundy, long since suppressed, but never wholly renounced. All these probable advantages made it be believed by many persons, that the ancient kingdom of Burgundy was upon the point of being restored. The duke of Maïenne's conduct in these quarters, the remaining part of this year, and till the month of April in

lief of Aiguebelle, besieged by the duke of Savoy, was defeated and taken prisoner. This did not happen till 1598.

|| I know not if the author does not hear a little too lightly tax this president: at least it has been said that more than two years before, at his return from Spain, he had been the first to advise the duke de Maïenne to come to an agreement with the king; as being disgusted at the haughtiness and excessive vanity with which the king of Spain in treating with him, had said, *my town of Paris, my town of Orleans*, as if France had actually been his own.

§ The duke of Maïenne was governor of this province.

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the following, supported this opinion; and I had less reason than any other to doubt of his intention in this respect, after the letters I saw at Paris, in the hands of the cardinal of Bourbon.

BUT unfortunately for the duke of Maienne, the Burgundians were not disposed to make choice of a subject for their master: they never before gave such convincing proofs of their fidelity to their sovereign. The duke of Guise beginning with endeavours to secure Beaune, by throwing a strong garrison into it, the burghers rose against them, defeated them, and forced them to shut themselves up in the castle: and as they might still suffer great inconveniences from them, they fortified themselves with barricades against the castle, and invited marechal Biron to come to their assistance, permitting him to lodge his little army six weeks within their walls. They afterwards attacked the castle in form, with a battery of twelve pieces of cannon; and carried on their works so vigorously, that they drove out at last the garrison of the league. I shall give an account hereafter of the expeditions in Burgundy; at present I must leave them, to return to the affairs of the capital.

I PERCEIVED the cardinal's illness to increase so prodigiously every day, that, not doubting but his end was very near, I staid at Paris to give the king immediate notice of it. He died without making that disposition of his benefices † which he seemed to have so ardently desired. His majesty was afflicted at his death, having lost a good kinsman and an affectionate subject. He wrote to me, that he was tired with the importunity of several persons who coveted the cardinal's spoils; and that, to get rid of

† He was archbishop of Rouen, abbé of St. Denis, of St. Germain-des-Prés, of St. Ouen and St. Catherine of Rouen, of Orcamp, &c. De Thou represents him as a prince who loved the sciences; he was eloquent, mild, and of an agreeable disposition, but extremely weak. He died on the 28th of July.

them, his general answer was, that they were already disposed of. His designs with regard to these benefices were as follows: In the agreement with the abbot de Tiron, certain abbeys belonging to the chancellor and the governor of Pont de l'Arche were yielded to him, for which those two gentlemen demanded to be largely indemnified out of the benefices of the deceased cardinal. The king was desirous that the abbé de Tiron should release these abbeys to the proprietors, and receive in exchange for them the archbishoprick of Rouen, valued at thirty thousand livres a year, but charged by the king with the payment of a pension of four thousand crowns, which he had promised to the chevalier d'Oise †, retaining for himself Gaillon-house, which he designed to purchase from the abbé; and ordered me to prevail upon him to accept of this equivalent. As for the abbey of St. Ouen, one of the finest benefices the deceased cardinal had possessed, the king, as yet, had not bestowed it on any one; and he had the goodness to tell me, that he would not do it without charging it with a pension of ten thousand livres for me.

THE greatest difficulty I met with in managing the king's affairs at Paris, was to communicate his prudent œconomy to the directors of his finances, the superintendant especially. The abuse of suffering the finances to become a prey to favourites (an evil, the source of which may be traced back to the reign of Charles VIII.) had in this last reign increased to such a degree, that had a man of the greatest industry, prudence, and integrity imaginable, been at the head of the finances, he perhaps would not have been able to prevent the bad consequences of so prodigious a dissipation: and, unhappily, † d'O

† George de Brancas Villars, brother to admiral de Villars.

‡ Francis d'O, lord of Fresnes, Maillebois, &c. first gentleman of the bedchamber, governor of Paris and the isle of France, superintendant of the finances, &c. "He surpassed kings and princes in ex-

possessed none of these qualities. His disposition, naturally leaning towards profusion, indolence, and voluptuousness, had been wholly ruined by all those vices for which the court of Henry III. was famous, deep play, unbounded debauchery, expensive follies, domestic disorders, and extravagances of every kind. D'O was on a footing with Bellegarde ||, Souvrai, Villequier, Quélus, Saint-Luc, Maugiron, Saint-Mégrin, Livarrot, Joyeuse, Epernon, la Valette, du Bouchage, Thermes, and many other less declared favourites: and the title of minion was all the recommendation he had for a post which the most careless princes think fit, for their own interest, to expect from those with which they reward such sort of servants.

SUCH was the man by whom the finances were conducted at a time, when, minions and mistresses being excluded from the council, one would have expected they should have been put under other managements and what is still more surprizing, the king, in his most urgent occasions, had not even the privilege of dividing his own revenues with the superintendent. D'O did not scruple to let him lose a city or a governor for the want of a very inconsiderable sum of money, while at the same time he denied none to his own pleasures. Licra-

“travagance and prodigality; for, even to his suppers, he had pies
“made of musk and amber served up, that amounted to twenty-five
“thousand crowns.” *Journal de l'Etoile*, ann. 1594, p. 37.

|| Reger de St. Larry de Bellegarde. Gilles de Souvrai. René de Villequier. Jacques Levis de Caylus or Quélus. Francis d'Epinaï de St. Luc. Francis de Maugiron. Paul Stuart de Caussade sieur de St. Mégrin. Jean d'Arces de Livarrot. Anne de Joyeuse. John Louis and Bernard de Nogaret. Henry de Joyeuse, count du Bouchage, afterwards a cspuchin. John de St. Larry de Thermes, or Augustus baron of Thermes. Tho' Souvrai had been one of Henry III's favourites, he should not be ranked in the number of this prince's minions: he was a man of an acknowledged merit and probity. Henry III. said, that if he were neither king nor prince, he would gladly be Souvrai. He refused the commission with which Henry III. would have charged him, to assassinate the marechal de Montmorency, when in prison. De Thou, b. lxi.

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mont †, governor of Catelet, applied to me, to solicit the payment of his garrison from D'O: I thought the affair of such importance, that I subdued my reluctance to ask a favour of him, and acquitted myself of my commission; but with little success. The superintendant, after I had left him, said to messieurs d'Edouville ‡ and de Mouffy, that he had rather see this place in the hands of Spaniards than protestants. Lieramont was of that religion. Mouffy, who was my kinsman, repeating this discourse to me, I declared to the superintendant, that he should be answerable for the place, if it were lost for want of this payment. But the menace had little effect on him.

FORTUNATELY for the king, a retention of urine delivered him, a few days after, from so bad a subject. And it is worthy of observation, that this man, who was possessed of more than four millions, or rather all the money in the kingdom, which he disposed of almost absolutely; more splendid in his equipages, his furniture, and his table, than the king himself, was not yet abandoned by his physicians, when his relations, who had always seemed to bear him great affection, his domestics ¶, and some others, under the title of creditors, pillaged him with such eagerness, and so completely, that a long time before he expired there was nothing left but bare walls in the chamber where he lay; as if fortune thought fit to finish with him at least by an act of justice §.

† Francis de Dampierre, sieur de Lieramont or Liermont.

‡ . . . sieur d'Edouville, . . . Boutillier, sieur Mouffy.

¶ He had no children by Charlotte Catherine de Villequier, his wife. "Henry IV. playing at tennis with M. d'O, made him observe that the marker stole their balls, and afterwards called to him with a loud voice, D'O, you see that all the world cheats us." Le Grain, b. vii.

§ "If," says M. de Grillon, "each must give in his accounts above, I believe that poor d'O will find himself much at a loss to find good documents for his." It was said that he died very much in debt, more than he was worth; and that there were five and twenty or thirty officers in his house when he died. The trea-

THE king returned to Paris to treat of a truce, which the duke of Lorraine requested instantly; and of an accommodation with the duke of Guise, who solicited it by the dutchess † of Guise his mother, the king's cousin-german, and mademoiselle de Guise his sister. It must be confessed, that of all those persons who had been in arms against the king, the duke of Guise deserved most indulgence. To the common motives of religion and independence, which seemed to authorize all things, he joined that of a father assassinated by the command of the present king's predecessor. It was madam de Guise, his mother, whose persuasions chiefly induced him to take this step: she was continually representing to her son, that the revolt of the princes and nobility of the kingdom, which in the beginning was justified by religion, became criminal after Henry had removed the only obstacle that could hinder him from enjoying his right of inheritance to the crown.

IN any other age, which had not, like this, lost every distinction between virtue and vice, this woman would have been the ornament of her sex, for the qualities of her heart and mind. Her whole conduct was regulated by a native rectitude of soul; so that it was easy to see that she had not even the idea of evil, either to act or to advise it: and at the same

“surers regretted him extremely, and called him their father: it
 “was even said, that three of them gave each fifty crowns to Collet
 “to engage him to dress him properly. M. le Grand, his good
 “friend, was almost distracted for his loss; for he allowed him every
 “year one hundred thousand franks to spend. Madame was not at all
 “sorry for it, because he almost starved her: those of the religion re-
 “gretted him as little, for he wished them no good. Madam de
 “Blancourt mourned for him, because she could do with him as she
 “pleas'd; and if he kept her in favour with the king---- M. Se-
 “guier, the dean, who assisted him to the last, as likewise did his
 “brothers, repeated to him, as he was dying, *Have mercy on me, O*
 “*God.* Some of the last words he spoke were, Remember me to his
 “majesty; he will know better, after my death, wherein I have
 “been of service to him, than he did while I lived.” L'Etoile, *ibid.*
 † Catherine of Cleves, wife to the duke of Guise who was killed
 at Blois. Charles of Lorraine duke of Guise.

time of so sweet a disposition, that she never was subject to the smallest emotion of hatred, malignity, envy, or even ill humour: No woman ever possessed so many graces of conversation, or added to a wit so subtil and refined, a simplicity so artless and agreeable. Her repartees were full of salt and sprightliness; and the pleasing, as well as greater qualities, so happily blended in her composition, that she was, at once, tender and lively, tranquil and gay. It was not long before the king became perfectly well acquainted with the character of this lady; and from that moment he not only forgot all his resentment, but also behaved towards her with all the familiarity and frankness of a sincere friend. He consented to give the necessary passports to the sieurs de la Rochette, Perigord, and Bigot, whom the duke of Guise sent to propose his demands; and, wholly subdued by the instances of these two ladies, named, on his side, three agents to treat with the duke: these were the chancellor de Chiverny, the duke de Retz, and Beaulieu-Ruscé, secretary of state.

THESE three persons, to shew their great skill in negotiating, began at first by using all those turns and artifices which policy has unreasonably introduced in the place of that frank and open conduct, that without deceiving any one, produces the same effect. Their conferences lasted ten days successively; yet at the end of this time the smallest preliminary was not settled. Madam de Guise, who was tortured by these affected delays, came one day into the king's apartment, when his majesty did me the honour to converse with me, holding my hand; and turning the discourse upon the treaty with her son, she complained to the king, with her usual gracefulness, but mingled with a little impatience, that he had employed three men, "who go," said she, "three different roads to reach no end; the first
" by never saying more than these words, *We must*
" *consider* ;

“ *consider; We must advise; Let us do better:* the second, by not understanding himself, although he speaks continually: and the third, by never ceasing to find fault.” This was, in reality, the true character of the three negotiators. This lady, suffering herself to be wholly transported by her zeal for the king, and tenderness for her son, taking his majesty’s hand, which she kissed, notwithstanding Henry’s endeavours to the contrary, she conjured him to receive the returning allegiance of the duke of Guise, and give her the consolation to see her family restored to the favour of their king. She spoke with an effusion of heart so strong and lively, that the king, affected by it even to tears, could not hinder himself from answering, “ Well cousin, what is it you desire me to do? I can refuse you nothing.” “ All I desire,” replied she, “ is, that you will name the person whose hand your majesty holds to treat with my son.” “ What!” returned the king, “ this wicked huguenot. Truly I grant him you very willingly, although I know that he is your kinsman, and that he has a very great friendship for you.” That very moment he took away the cognizance of this affair from the three commissaries, and caused a commission, under the great seal, to be given to me; not only for settling the treaty with the duke of Guise*, but also for the affairs of the whole province of Champagne. It may be easily imagined, that after this the chancellor bore me no good-will; but it is the part of an old and artful courtier, to appear so much the more obliging and respectful to those who are in favour, as the resentment he harbours against them in his heart is severe and lasting. Chiverny †, indeed, excelled in this art.

* See M. de Thou, b. cxi. who gives himself some share in this accommodation with the duke of Guise.

† Philip Hurault de Chiverny, chancellor of France, died in 1599, aged 72.

THE duke of Guise had begun with very extravagant propositions, which if he had insisted upon, would have rendered his treaty ineffectual. Doubtless, he was induced to make them, through his knowledge of those persons to whom he was referred: he thought, that to obtain something he must demand a great deal. He claimed no less than the post of high steward of the king's household, which the count of Soissons had been in possession of ever since the assassination of the duke of Guise, when it was bestowed upon him; to possess the government of Champagne, which had likewise been given to the duke of Nevers; to enjoy also the benefices of his uncle, the cardinal of Guise, particularly the archbishopric of Rheims, then actually possessed by M. du Bec, a relation of madam de Liancourt, the king's mistress. He added several other articles; but these three gave rise to the greatest difficulties. The duke of Guise, being informed of the change of the commissioners, resolved immediately to lessen the extravagance of his demands; and wrote to the duchess, his mother, and to his agents, to conclude a treaty with me upon reasonable conditions, and even at any price whatever. He had soon after a new inducement to finish the treaty, as soon as possible, which I was ignorant of: he had discovered that the city of Rheims (the most considerable present he had to offer the king) desirous to make a merit of returning to its obedience voluntarily, had solicited the rest of the province to do the like; and had already drawn great part of it into their views. The duke of Guise, to prevent this inconvenience, having attempted to place a garrison there, the inhabitants declared that they would guard the city themselves; and this refusal causing a debate, they answered the duke's menaces by others no less haughty.

AFTER the second conference I had with the duke's agent, there was no mention either of the post of high steward of the household, the govern-

ment of Champagne, or of the benefices; and those three obstacles being removed, I saw very little difficulty remaining. I proposed to the king, the drawing the duke of Guise from Champagne, to fix him in Provence, by giving him that government for a recompence; so that his interest there being united with that of Lesdiguieres, and Ornano, who supported the king's party against the duke of Epernon, they might at once join to reduce the power of that formidable subject. The king consented to this so much the more willingly, as by the manner in which the family of Guise acted with him, he judged he might depend upon their fidelity; and he ordered me to conclude with him upon this plan. I made the proposal to the duke's agents, and, upon reiterated commands from his majesty, used so much diligence in settling all other matters, that the next evening the treaty with the duke of Guise was concluded and signed by me for the king, and by madam de Guise, and the duke's three commissioners, for him.

THE next day six deputies from the city of Rheims arrived at Paris; and, addressing themselves to me, told me, that the king needed not bestow any great rewards upon the duke of Guise, not only because Rheims was no longer in his power, but because the inhabitants were ready to deliver him up to the king. They did not require to be introduced to his majesty, but said they would be satisfied with his approbation in writing, or only mine; submitting to the king to grant them what recompence he should think fit: and ended with offering me, according to custom, a present of ten thousand crowns, which I neither could, nor would accept of. I thanked them in the king's name for their goodwill; and assured them that he would, with great pleasure, receive this testimony of it. I deferred giving them an answer, till I had received orders from his majesty, to whom I went immediately to relate

relate all that had passed. The king was at that time in his closet, from whence he made every one but Beringhen depart, and listened to me walking, often shaking his head, and smiling, through a reflection on the natural levity and inconstancy of the people. He afterwards took me aside to the window, and desired me to tell him what terms I was upon with the duke of Guise. As soon as I had informed him that the treaty was concluded, he did not hesitate a moment whether or not he should observe it; but he would not, however, appear insensible of the affection of the city of Rheims. I introduced the deputies to him, whom he thanked as became a king, bestowing upon them a very considerable reward with an air so gracious, that they returned full of joy and admiration.

THE treaty with the duke of Guise being with the usual form signed by † Gêvres for the king, the duchess and mademoiselle de Guise demanded his majesty's permission for the duke to come himself, and assure him of his obedience. I wrote to him to seek for no other security than that permission: and he made no scruple to comply with my injunctions. He assembled as many of his friends as he could, and came and threw himself at the king's feet, with so many marks of a sincere repentance, that the king, who penetrated into his inmost soul, instead of reproaches, or a silence, which on such occasions is more terrible than the severest reproaches, made use of all his endeavours to reassure him: he embraced him three several times, honoured him with the name of nephew, treated him with the greatest tenderness and freedom, and without affecting either to avoid or recall what had passed, mentioned the deceased duke of Guise with honour. He said that they had been friends in their youth, although often

† Lewis Potier de Gêvres, secretary of state. From him is descended the branch of the Gêvres; and from Nicolas Potier de Blancmenil his elder brother, that of Novion.

rivals for the same ladies; and that the duke's good qualities, and a conformity of disposition, had united them in a fixed aversion to the duke of Alençon. A friend, who endeavours to reconcile himself to his friend after a slight quarrel, could not have behaved otherwise; and all those that were witnesses of this reception, could never sufficiently admire a king, who, with so many qualities to inspire fear, employed only those that created love.

THE duke of Guise, absolutely gained by this discourse, replied to the king, that he would neglect nothing to render himself worthy of the honour his majesty did the memory of his father, and the sentiments he was pleased to entertain of himself: and from that time he took such care to convince him that his respect and fidelity to him would continue inviolable, that the king, forgetting all which any other, in his situation, would have apprehended from the raising again a family which had made kings tremble, lived with him familiarly, and admitted him with the other courtiers into all his parties of pleasure: for such was the character of Henry, that that exterior gravity, which the royal dignity makes it necessary to assume, never hindered him from resigning himself up freely to pleasures, which an equality of conditions spreads over society. The truly great man knows how to be by turns, and as occasions require, whatever he ought to be, master, or equal, king, or citizen: it is no diminution of his greatness, to unbend himself in private, provided that he shews himself, in his public character, capable of performing all the duties of his high station: the courtier will never forget that he is with his master.

MADAM de Guise entering the king's apartment some days after, when the duke of Guise presented the napkin to his majesty for a light repast which he took in the afternoon, she again took occasion to express her gratitude to him for his goodness to her son, and told him, with a lively emotion, that if ever
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the duke of Guise was deficient in his duty and obedience, she would disinheret him, and disown him for her son. The king, running to embrace her, assured her that he, on his side, would ever preserve for the duke, and his whole family, the tenderness of a father.

THE treaty I had just concluded with the duke of Guise, did not fail to be loudly exclaimed against. His own particular enemies, and that sort of people which swarm about a court, who have no other business than to decry the conduct of persons in place, united themselves against me, and being secretly supported by those from whom the cognizance of this affair was taken, proclaimed every where, that I undertook this commission only to please madam de Guise. The duke of Epernon was not silent on this occasion; and whenever the duke of Guise and he were mentioned together, he constantly said, that I had offended the one without cause, to oblige the other against all reason. These discourses were so often repeated to the king, that he was at last made to believe, I had acted with rather too much precipitation: however, he was not displeas'd with me upon that account.

It was not difficult for me to justify myself; which I did by an apology in writing, and presented it to the king. I there defended my conduct with the following reasons: That the king could not possibly grant the three articles before-mentioned, without giving disgust to a great many other persons; notwithstanding which, he would have been obliged to grant them, if he had not had a government to bestow upon the duke, which was the least recompence he could expect, after resigning Champaigne, and yielding up so many other claims: That with regard to the government which was given him, no other could be chosen, from whence fewer bad consequences might be feared, than from Pro-

vence †. For upon a supposition that the duke of Guise might hereafter become capable of forgetting the new oath of allegiance he had taken, there was little danger to be apprehended from him in a province which had no communication with Lorrain, the Low Countries, and Burgundy especially: on the contrary, although none of the duke's demands had been complied with, except the continuing him in the government of Champagne, yet by that, the danger of perpetuating the war in those countries was incurred: That it was the king's interest to reserve to himself the power of bestowing the government of Champagne upon a man who should not be only sincerely attached to his service, but whose integrity likewise should be so well known, that the rebels in Burgundy might despair of ever bringing him to favour their views. With regard to the conveniency of fixing upon Provence for the duke of Guise, I added that argument relating to the duke of Epemon, which I have already touched upon. I recalled to the king's remembrance, in a few words, the many occasions of complaint this man had given him, his repeated revolts, his intrigues to disengage all the catholics from his majesty's party, his insolent boast that he would never acknowledge any superior in his government, his last proceedings at Villemur, and many other circumstances which certainly would do no honour to the history of this imperious subject. It was opposing one leader of the league by another, whom a thousand motives, besides that of his own interest, which ought always to be regarded as the most powerful, concurred to regulate his conduct by a system quite contrary to his former views.

WITHOUT dwelling upon the orders his majesty had given me with regard to the duke of Guise, nor the danger of a longer delay; although the

† The government was afterwards taken from him by cardinal Richieu; who likewise took that of Picardy from the duke d'Elbeuf, and that of Burgundy from the duke de Bellegarde.

treaty with him had not been so advantageous as it was easy to prove it was, I represented to the king, that he could not act rigorously towards a man, who had so steadily refused all the offers and most flattering promises from Spain, the dukes of Savoy, and Lorraine, and the other enemies of the state †, to prevail upon him to continue a war, which, however short a time it had lasted, would have been a greater inconvenience to him, than all he had granted to the duke of Guise. Nor ought it to be thought a matter of little consequence (whatever his and my enemies could say) to gain over a man whose name and birth would always procure him a powerful party. I agree with them, if they please, that this lord after all, made but an inconsiderable sacrifice of unjust claims, and uncertain expectations; nay, I will reduce it lower, and ascribe it all to the king's generosity; yet, if by that means, he bound to his interest not a single man only, but a family respectable for their alliances, their riches, and influence, it cannot be called an useless generosity.

THE king was struck by these reasons, and seemed greatly surprized at my exact knowledge of Epernon. He did not think it proper to permit this writing to be published, because of the truths it contained, which it was not yet time to reveal. I submitted, without any difficulty, for I never gave myself much trouble about the efforts of envy, having always looked upon that passion as an incurable disease. The duke of Guise's whole conduct for the future made a still greater apology for me: he began his government by so clear and absolute a declaration of his sentiments, that the seditious were deprived of all hopes of ever being able to seduce him. In all occasions wherein the king's service, or the good of the state, required his assistance, he behaved

† The duke of Guise was hated by the league, especially since the time he had killed with his own hand, in a tumult, the sieur de St. Paul, his field lieutenant, who was much beloved by them.

with equal firmness and prudence. The reduction † of Marseilles, which was with reason thought one of the best strokes of that kind, was his work; and with the help of Lefdiguieres, and the countess of Sault, he so well humbled the haughty Epernon, that he at last obliged him to restrain his rebellious disposition; and this proud subject was seen to submit to the king's mercy, and became one of his most assiduous courtiers.

I NEVER was unwilling to do justice to the duke of Epernon, to be among the first to enhance the value either of his personal services, or those of his soldiers at Limoges, Saint-Germain, Ville-bois ‡, Chartres, Boulogne, Montauron, Antibes, and even at Villemur. I am sorry that the subject I treat on necessarily engages me in a discussion which may lessen the advantageous opinions that have been conceived of him; but, since this is a place where nothing should be concealed or disguised, what can, what ought to be thought, of his conduct in Provence?

† This town was upon the point of being delivered up to the king of Spain, by two of its burgeses, named Charles Casault, and Lewis d'Aix; when the duke of Guise found means to make himself master of it, by intelligence held with Peter and Bartholomew Libertat, two brothers, who were also burgeses of the same town. They slew Casault, beat the troops of the Spanish side, and let in, through the Porte-reale, the duke of Guise, who performed this enterprize with a great deal of conduct. See de Thou, b. cxvi. D'Aubigné, tom. III. liv. iv. chap. 12. Henry IV. upon receiving the news of the reduction of Marseilles, said, "It is now that I am king." In the following campaign, the duke of Guise shewed a great deal of valour, in pursuing the Spaniards as far as Givry; and killed with his own hand, a trooper belonging to the enemy, who had given him defiance. Henry IV. embracing him, spoke these words, "Those who find old examples of virtue before them, must imitate and repeat them, for such as come after." P. Mathieu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 192.

‡ See on each of these actions, l'Hist. de la vie du duc d'Epernon, printed at Paris, ann. 1655. Villebois is a town of Angoumois, which at this day is called la Valette. You may likewise consult the same history, as to the reproaches which our Memoirs give this duke; but he cannot be justified in every particular; and even his own historian looks upon it as impossible. All that can be said is, that M. de Sully took pleasure to aggravate faults, which the last years of the duke d'Epernon's life have almost entirely effaced.

Certainly, to ascribe it all to bigotry in his religion, is shewing the utmost favour to his reputation. His panegyrists, who so loudly extol his most inconsiderable actions, ought to be a little more moderate when they reflect on his frequent revolts, and acts of disobedience; or begin by establishing it for a truth, that a subject may be irreproachable, yet fail in his duty to his king and his country, introduce discord and confusion to gratify his ambition, and give to violence the name of right. If any panegyrics are to be bestowed here, doubtless it is the king who merits them, who, after all these offences, received Epernon with open arms, and never excluded him from favours; which in every respect, considering his behaviour, were indeed mere favours to him.

AFTER the death of d'O, there appeared among the candidates a man, who, it was immediately thought, would have the post of superintendant; this was Nicolas de Sancy †, who wanted neither capacity, nor experience, for that station. Sancy might be very properly called a man of wit, using this term in the sense that is generally given it, to denote vivacity, subtilty, and quickness of apprehension. But, as it is very seldom found, that an excellent judgment is joined to these qualities, Sancy spoiled them all by a degree of vanity, caprice, and impetuosity, which sometimes rendered him insupportable. It is my opinion of these strong and lively imaginations in general, that although they are commonly subject to two great faults, which are too much subtilty, and too little clearness in their ideas, and confusion and unsteadiness in their schemes, yet they ought not to be thought wholly incapable of business; because it often happens, that they hit upon expedients which would have escaped more cautious and phlegmatic minds: but there is almost always occasion to watch over them, and to correct their errors.

SANCY had long, and usefully served Henry the

† Nicolas de Harlay de Sancy,

third, and the reigning king, both in Germany and Switzerland. He had insinuated himself into Henry's favour by great complaisance, a subtle behaviour, a refined art in heightening his pleasure, and by becoming necessary in his affairs of gallantry. Hence it was that he lived with this prince upon terms of the greatest familiarity. That he might neglect nothing by which he thought he should make his court successfully, he inveighed, without ceasing, against the dissipation of the finances; and, as a flatterer generally goes beyond his mark, in railing at the superintendant, he could not help decrying likewise the superintendancy, as an employment ruinous to the state: by which he gave good reason to call his wit in question. But he himself opposed his advancement to this post by an obstacle still greater: he not only neglected to please madam de Liancourt †, then mistress to the king, but also by an intemperance of tongue, to which such persons as he are very subject, he had offended this lady on a very delicate occasion.

I know not whether the story I am going to relate had ever any foundation in truth. However this may be, thus the story ran in Paris: His majesty having sent Alibour, his first physician, to visit madam de Liancourt, who was indisposed (this was in the beginning of his addresses to that lady) at his return he told the king, that she was indeed a little disordered, but that he need not be uneasy, for the consequence would be very good. "But will you not bleed and purge her?" said the king to him. "I shall be very careful how I do that," replied the old man, with the same simplicity, "before she has gone half her time." "How!" interrupted the king, astonished and disordered to the last degree:

† This was the fair Gabrielle, who was wife to Nicolas d'Amerval, lord of Liancourt. She was forced by her father, they say, to this marriage, which was not at all to her liking: but Henry IV. knew very well how to hinder the consummation.

“ what is it you say, friend? Surely you rave, and
 “ are not in your right senses.” Alibour supported
 his assertion with good proofs, which the king
 thought he should destroy, by telling him upon what
 terms he was with the lady. “ I know not what
 “ you have done, or what you have not done,” re-
 plied the old physician with great composure; and
 for a complete proof referred him to four or five
 months from that time. The king quitted Alibour
 with great rage, and went immediately to reproach
 the sick fair one, who, no doubt, knew well enough
 how to new dress all the good man had ignorantly
 said; for it was not perceived that any misunder-
 standing happened between the king and his mistress.
 It is certain, however, that the event was exactly
 conformable to Alibour’s prediction: but it was
 thought that Henry, after a more strict examination,
 was brought to believe that he had been mistaken in
 his reckoning, since, instead of disowning the child
 which madam de Liencourt lay in of at Comcy, dur-
 ing the siege of Laon, he acknowledged it openly,
 and had it baptized by the name of Cæsar.

SANCY gave free scope to his wit, in relating this
 story; and did not forget the circumstance of * La-
 Regnardiere, who, having one day, as he said, taken
 the liberty to inform his majesty of some things that
 did not please him, was soon after banished the court,
 under pretence that he had quarrelled with the ad-
 miral †. Sancy found something to say upon the

* “ La-Regnardiere was a kind of buffoon, half soldier, half law-
 yer, and half gentleman, who said whatever came uppermost.” It
 is in this manner he is spoken of in the adventures of the baron de
 Fœneste, liv. iv. ch. 7. where we find many more stories related of
 him.

† The Journal de l’Etoile, and the Confession of Sancy, confirm all
 this pleasantry, as also the suspicion of its ending tragically for old M.
 Alibour, the king’s first physician, who was poisoned, they say, by or-
 der of the king’s mistress: but all this is alledged without any proof.
 You may also read, on this head, what Sauval has told on the faith of
 public report, and satyrical libels, touching the intrigues between the
 fair Gabrielle, and the duke de Bellegarde.

death of the good man Alibour, and would have thought it more natural, if it had not happened before the accomplishment of his prediction. If he commented thus upon the birth of the son, he did no less upon the whole conduct of the mother. Sancy proved, to his cost, what the malice of a woman, especially a king's mistress, is capable of doing: Henry loved him, and wanted to raise him; and although he was inclined to suppress the post of superintendant of the finances, yet he would have preserved it, merely to have bestowed it upon him; but madam de Liancourt knew how to prevent it.

INSTEAD of a superintendant of the finances, his majesty composed a council consisting of eight persons; these were, the chancellor de Chiverny, the duke de Retz, messieurs de Bellièvre (who was succeeded by Matignon) de Schomberg, de Maisse, de Fresne (protected by madam de Liancourt) de la Grange-le-roi, and de Sancy, who thought himself very happy to be one of the members § of this body. The king judged it necessary to give this council, for form's sake only, and without any distinction, a titular head, which was the duke of Nevers. This form of government of the finances lasted some time, although with a few inconsiderable alterations, which I shall mention in their place: for the reader may expect in these Memoirs to see whatever relates to the finances treated with all that clearness and extent which a man, who has so long made them his study and employment, is capable of giving them.

THE king was convinced, in the sequel, that this

§ M. de Thou and Perefixe say, that M. de Sancy was for some time superintendant before M. de Rosny: which ought not to be understood, in my opinion, but only of the authority which he assumed of himself among his fellow counsellors, as M. de Sully tells us afterwards. The writers of that time agree, that nothing of certainty can be said as to the state of the council of the finances, till the time in which M. de Rosny was at least declared the chief. We run no risque in believing all he says on the head of the finances.

new change in the council * was far from affording that remedy the decrease required: small as my experience was in these affairs, I easily comprehended it. It is not the government of one man only by which the finances are thrown into confusion; since it is an incontestible truth, that, as they must pass through some hands, the fewer that are employed, the less will be embezzled. The abuse lies in the choice of this man, and in the nature of the finances: and therefore, to have this office discharged by many different persons, is to perpetuate the evil. If, in the whole kingdom, it is difficult to find one single man fit for such an employment, how can it be expected that a great number will be met with? Nor is the mistake less palpable in imagining that all these persons bringing each of them one distinguished good quality into their employments, the same effect will be produced as from a man who unites them all in himself; since that is to suppose, that this single good quality cannot possibly be rendered useless by the opposition of several bad ones, either in himself or his associates. In general, the predominant principle with which those persons who are invested with public employments enter upon the execution of them, is to raise and enrich themselves and their relations. If this eager desire of riches is not felt by them at first, it is inspired, increased, and stimulated, by the great sums of money that pass through their hands: amidst that dependence on, and mutual fear of, each other, every one represents to himself integrity as a quality not only useless, but hurtful to him, the honour of which is shared by his colleagues, the inconvenience wholly his own. The king was far from being fortunate in his choice of the members of this body: several of those who composed it, besides being of a malignant disposition, were in a

† Perefixe talks of this new form of the council of the finances, as M. de Rosny, ann. 1593, p. 224.

situation that exposed them to corruption: they had debts to pay, and domestic wants to supply.

His majesty destined me a place in it, and had, for a long time, in his conversations with me, expressed his desire, that I would make myself thoroughly acquainted with whatever regarded the finances: but I could not possibly submit to the imperious behaviour of the duke of Nevers, who very unseasonably assumed great consequence to himself from his quality of prince, in a place where it signified very little. One day, when his insolence had exhausted all my patience, I took the liberty to intreat he would remember that the family of Bethune was in possession of the earldom of Nevers before the family of Gonzague. A man swollen with the pride of ancestry could not possibly receive a more severe mortification. He often repeated to those who would hear him, that my whole family were huguenots; and, to answer my anecdote with another, said, that he had seen my grandfather make a very mean figure at Nevers. I suffered him to have his revenge, which could extend no farther than keeping me out of a council where I had very little inclination to be with him: and this satisfaction he had. The king, who had many measures to keep, told me, in a very obliging manner, that he was under a necessity of deferring some time longer the proof he intended to give me of his friendship: and I waited for it without murmuring, satisfied with the post of secretary of state, with a salary of two thousand livres a year, and a pension of three thousand six hundred more, which the king bestowed upon me.

PERSONS of the least discernment being convinced of the necessity there was to introduce a reformation into the finances, the new council were at first desirous of this honour; and a scheme for that purpose was proposed by those amongst them who most valued themselves for their penetration and method. These were Fresne and La-Grange-le-roi. But after

ter they had produced a very large volume upon this affair, it happened with that, as with the most part of systems that have been or may be invented; nothing more easy in speculation, in practice nothing more difficult: and the king, whom they had flattered with mighty hopes, found every thing in the same condition as before, at the end of the year which he had passed at Paris, expecting daily the effect of their promises.

HE was retained there to more purpose by the treaty with Lorraine, which, entirely forsaking Spain, concluded a league offensive and defensive with France. Sancy's services were of great use in this treaty: and to him almost all the honour of it was due. The king was no longer at a loss for employment, after the duke of Bouillon arrived at Paris: he came in person to press the execution of those schemes he had entertained me with at Sedan, particularly a declaration of war against Spain, which he made the basis of his advancement in the Low Countries. He used such plausible arguments for it, that, after the example of the courtiers †, he did not scruple to propose it in full council. He found there two different parties who did not approve of this war: those in whom a rooted attachment to Spain and the league still remained, and they were not few in number; and those who thought a war, in the present weak and exhausted state of the kingdom,

† M. de Thou makes no doubt but the duke de Bouillon was the principal author of this war: and his historian entirely agrees, that in giving this counsel he far less consulted the advantage of the state, and the glory of the king, than his own personal interest, and that of the calvinistical party, who necessarily wanted a war, in order to obtain the favourable terms which were granted them by the edict of Nantz. Notwithstanding the reasons for declaring war against Spain, of which a minute detail may be seen in MSS. de la Bibliot. de Roi, vol. marked 8955, and in the king's declaration, that is set down in tom. VI. of the Memoirs de la Ligue: all good writers and judicious persons are unanimously of one voice, in favour of the duke de Sully's opinion as to the precipitation and imprudence with which Henry IV. conducted himself in this affair, the consequences of which might have been a good deal more fatal than they were.

was very unseasonable. These last had few partisans, but strong reasons on their side, if any one would have listened to them.

I WOULD not incur the reproach of silence upon this occasion. I used every argument my reason could suggest, to dissuade the king from this war: but this prince, whom a natural propensity drew always a little to that side, thought he had now found the opportunity he sought for, to revenge himself upon a neighbour who had made it his endeavour to maintain the flame which consumed the heart of his kingdom. He was sure of troops from Lorraine: England and Holland, by their ambassadors, gave hopes of a powerful diversion: and, according to the duke of Bouillon, a single word from him was sufficient to make all Luxembourg surrender: Sancy made great promises in behalf of the Thirteen Cantons: all Franche-Comté lay open to their ravages. The king was determined by all these flattering appearances; and in January, the following year, war was declared in form against Spain.

THAT kingdom seemed to give herself very little trouble about this proceeding; and answered only by shewing great contempt for Henry's council, and for Henry himself, to whom she gave no other title than that of prince of Bearn. While she made preparations to defend herself, her emissaries in France endeavoured to spare her the trouble, by an attempt so horrid, that it is scarce credible she could have recourse to it.

ON the 26th of December, the king being then at Paris, in his apartments in the Louvre *, where

* According to others, in the chamber of the marchioness de Monceaux, at the hotel de Schomberg, behind the Louvre: but, in fact, it was neither at the Louvre, nor at the hotel de Schomberg, that this affair happened. A register belonging to the town-house at Paris, quoted by Piganiolle, tom. II. de la Description de Paris, says, that the fair Gabrielle resided, in 1595, at the hotel d'Esfrées; and that it was at this place Henry IV. was wounded. This hotel was afterwards called l'hotel du Bouchage; and was purchased in 1616, by
monieur

he gave audience to messieurs de Ragny and de Montigny ||, who entered with a great number of other persons: at the very moment when he stooped to embrace one of them, he received a wound in the face with a knife, which the murderer let fall as he was endeavouring to escape through the croud †. I was present, and approached in an agony of grief, seeing the king all covered with blood, and fearing, with reason, that the stroke was mortal. The king removed our apprehensions by a composed and agreeable behaviour; and we perceived immediately that his lip only was wounded; the stroke having been aimed too high, the force of it was stopped by a tooth, which it broke.

THE parricide was discovered, without any difficulty, though he had mixed among the croud. He was a scholar, named John Chatel; and readily answered, when he was interrogated, that he came from the college of the jesuits, accusing those fathers with being the authors of his crime †. The king, who

mon sieur de Berulle, in order to lodge and accommodate the fathers of the oratory, who still continued there.

|| Francis de la Magdelaine de Ragny. Francis de La-Grange de Montigny.

† “Immediately the king, who found himself wounded, looking round him, and seeing Mathurine, his fool, said, *The duce take the fool: she has wounded me.* But, she denying it, ran directly to shut the door, whereby she was the occasion of preventing the assassin from making his escape; who, upon being seized, and afterwards searched, dropped his knife, which was all over bloody.” Thus l’Etoile speaks of it. The MSS. de la Bibl. du Roy say quite otherwise in vol. 9033, namely, “that the king, finding himself wounded, spoke thus to one of those two gentlemen, *Ab, cousin! you have wounded me:* and that he thereupon, throwing himself at his majesty’s feet, replied, God forbid, sire, that I should entertain even a thought of hurting or wounding your majesty: I have no weapon about me but the sword by my side.” M. de Thou says, that the count of Soissons seizing the assassin, spoke aloud to him, that it was one of them two had given the blow; and that the poignard was perceived to lie at his feet glittering by the light of the candles. Lib. iii.

† When the matter relates to any personal reflections, or such as are thrown upon a whole body of men, I think myself particularly obliged to call to mind the observation I made, in the preface of this work,

heard him, said, with a gaiety, which on such an occasion few persons could have been capable of, that he had heard from the mouths of many persons, that the society never loved him, and he was now convinced of it by his own. Chatel was delivered up

work. that the Memoirs of M. de Sully are not only composed of authentic and original pieces, that should make them be looked upon as deserving all the credit that is commonly paid to great authors, and moreover as the real production of M. de Sully; such as letters, particular memoirs, conversations, reflections, &c. but that likewise they are interwoven with recitals that may well be ascribed solely to such as have collected and composed those pieces, upon the authority of which there is not so much stress to be laid. Now it is in these narrations that I find a great number of the facts and reflections against the jesuits, which ought not to be admitted without authentic and solid proof. Thus we shall find somewhat mentioned, that is contrary to the tenor of our Memoirs with regard to the affair of Chatel, in those that serve for the Universal History of Europe, tom. I. p. 110, &c. And if more deference ought to be paid to the testimony of contemporary writers, "Chatel," says l'Etoile, in his journal sur l'ann. 1595, "was interrogated the 28th; and, by his own answers, he quite cleared the jesuits of any imputation, and even father Gueret, his preceptor: he said that he had undertaken to strike the blow of his own proper motion," &c. In fact, when this parricide gave it, he had been seven months gone from the college, and had finished his studies. This authority of l'Etoile's, which is not suspected, is corroborated by that of the royal MS. which I have just now quoted, as also by de Thou and Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 183. by Cayet, liv. vi. p. 432. and the Memoirs of the league. According to all these writers, Chatel declared, it is true, that he had studied with the jesuits, and that by their doctrine it is lawful to kill kings; as it is taught in the writings of father Guignard, library-keeper of the college of Clermont, whom they went to seize directly: but at the same time he formally cleared both his professor and all the jesuits of having ever advised him to assassinate the king, and even of their having had, any more than his confessor, the least knowledge of his design; though, according to l'Etoile, Lugoly, lieutenant of the Marshalsea, had disguised himself like a confessor, on purpose to pump the secret from Chatel. For which reason M. de Sully and M. d'Aubigné are very much in the wrong, to give occasion for concluding, by the manner in which both the one and the other express themselves, that the jesuits pushed on Chatel to this assassination. Father de Chalons expresses himself pretty ambiguously, when he says, in tom. III. of his History of France, p. 245, that Chatel avowed, upon his interrogatories, "that the principles and discourses of the jesuits had led him to this criminal action." Yet, however, one perceives that the sense of these words is very different from the preceding.

to justice †; and the prosecutions against the jesuits, which had been suspended, were now resumed more vigorous than before, and terminated by the banishment of the whole order ‡ from the kingdom. Father John Guignard || was hanged for his pernicious doctrines against the authority and life of kings:

† “ After having been put to the ordinary and extraordinary trial upon the rack, which he endured without making any confession, and having made the *amende honorable*, his hand was cut off, holding in it the murderous knife with which he intended to kill the king; then his flesh was torn off with red-hot pincers, and he was drawn between four horses in the Place de Grève; his body and members cast into the fire, and burnt to ashes, and the ashes thrown into the air. The sieur Chatel, the father of the parricide, was banished France for nine years, and for ever from the precincts and jurisdiction of Paris, condemned to pay a fine of four thousand crowns, his house razed, and instead thereof a pyramid erected, containing the whole story of the fact.” L’Etoile, *ibid.* It is thought that the little square that lies before the Barnabites, is the spot on which Chatel’s house stood.

‡ “ The jesuits, in obedience to the arret against them, departed Paris, conducted by a serjeant of the court: they were thirty-seven in number, part of whom were put into three carts, and the rest travelled on foot; their procurator being mounted on a little nag,” &c. L’Etoile, *ibid.*

|| Father Guignard did not teach the pernicious doctrine of which they accused him, at the time of Chatel’s affair. He might have propagated it during the fury of the league, as the Sorbonne themselves had done, together with a great number of other priests and religious. If we judge by the pieces belonging to the process of this father, we must agree, 1. That if he had written and spoke in favour of the league, this crime was forgiven him, seeing an amnesty had been granted to all those concerned in it. 2. That he underwent the rigour of the law, for only preserving some writings and books that favoured this party. Upon which father Daniel, in his *Histoire de France*, in fol. tom. III. p. 1706, remarks, that if a process had been entered against all who were in the like case, there must have been a necessity to condemn capitally the greatest part of the priests and religious, who had the care of any cabinets of rarities and of libraries, where the like writings were kept, and where they are preserved down to our time. “ He said that he died innocent, exhorted the people to the fear of God, and obedience to the king; he even prayed aloud for his majesty, and begged of the people not lightly and precipitately to give credit to the false reports which were industriously propagated concerning them; that they were not assassins of kings; and that the jesuits had never procured or approved of the death of any king whatsoever,” &c. *Mem. de l’Etoile*, *ibid.* He would not make the *amende honorable* to the king, alledging that he had not offended him. Cayet, *ibid.*

John Gueret §, Peter Varade, Alexander Mayus, Francis Jacob, and Jon Le-Bel, other members of the society, suspected of being his accomplices, were obliged to make the *amende honorable*, and condemned to perpetual banishment.

THIS attempt confirmed the king in his resolution to pursue the war with Spain. He drew a favourable augury for his future success from the advantage he gained in the first acts of hostility. As soon as the treaty between France and Lorraine was concluded, the latter immediately, and without solicitation, dispersed the troops over Burgundy, under the conduct of Tremblecourt † and Saint George, and carried terror into every part of that province. On the other side, the garrison of Soissons, a place absolutely devoted to the league, commanded by Conan and Bellefond ‡, was almost wholly cut off by Mouffy ||,

§ Here the author is mistaken. John Gueret was, by an express arret, condemned to perpetual banishment; but there is no express mention made of Peter Verade, Alexander Mayus, &c. who were comprized with all the rest, and without being particularly named in the arret, which proscribed in general the whole society. It is a glaring calumny in Morisot, to have advanced, chap. 33. that Francis Jacob, to whom they had told that Henry IV. was just assassinated by Chatel, boasted that he would have dispatched this prince, if he had not been prevented by Chatel. I know of no historian that has said any such thing.

It is another calumny of an equally black nature, to have endeavoured to make the jesuits pass for the authors of a piece intitled, *Apologie de Jean Chatel*: a trifling performance, and at the same time, detestable on account of the abuse therein made of divine and human laws, and even of the holy scriptures. They at that time cleared their innocence in this respect; and according to the same historian, F. Matthieu, they were still more justified by the avowal of the true author of this piece, namely, John Boucher, the same priest whose name all the histories have rendered so odious. With this piece, which never ought to have seen the light, an account of Chatel's process has just been published, extracted not only from a MS. in the king's library, of which we have spoke, but from acts of parliament.

† --- D'Auffonville, sieur de St. George, and Lewis de Beauvau, sieur de Tremblecourt, both gentlemen of Lorraine.

‡ Bernarine Gigaul de Bellefonde.

|| On the 15th of February, in the plains de Villers Coterets in Valois. The baron de Conan is called Conas or Conac, in M. de Thou: and instead of Bayes, you must read it Beyne.

d'Edouville, de Bayes, and Gadancourt the lieutenant of my company. The duke of Montmorency §, to prove himself worthy of the dignity of constable, which he had lately been invested with, fell upon Dauphiny, the Lionnois, and Bresle, with a body of four thousand foot, and four hundred well disciplined horse; drove out from those places the remainder of the troops belonging to the dukes of Savoy and Nemours, took Vienne by composition from Dizimieux, who was governor of it for the duke of Nemours, and afterwards Montluel. Marechal Biron, after the expedition at Beaune, made himself master of Nuys, Autun, and Dijon ¶. The duke of Bouillon, as soon as war was proclaimed, entered Luxembourg, where, with the assistance of count Philip of Nassau, he defeated eight or ten parties of horse, under the command of Mansfield.

HENRY did not doubt but that, by uniting all these separate bodies into one army, he should make whatever province he conducted it into tremble. It is certain that if he did this, he could not make a stand every where as before; but the expectations his majesty formed from his first project, made him resolve to prefer it. Having the choice of entering Picardy, Champagne, or Burgundy, he determined upon the last, where messieurs de Montmorency, Biron, and Sancy, gave him hopes of great success. Their secret motives for calling him thither were these.

THE constable Montmorency had been alarmed by the great preparations he saw made by Spain in Lombardy, where the constable of Castile had orders to quit the Milanese, however necessary his presence might be in that country, to enter France, and make some bold attempt there, after he should be joined

§ Henry the second son of the constable Anne de Montmorency, who was made constable in the year 1593.

¶ See all these different expeditions into Burgundy, in de Thou and d'Aubigné, ann. 1595.

by the count de Fuentes, general of the Spanish troops in the Netherlands. Montmorency therefore apprehended that all these troops would fall upon him. Marechal Biron, who was in the same quarters, where, after seizing the city of Dijon, he had attacked the castle of it, and that of Talan, both of great strength, was afraid, likewise, that he should be obliged to raise the siege if he was not assisted.

As to Sancy, his views were to advance his own reputation by the conquest of Franche-Comté, to which he was incessantly endeavouring to persuade the king. Convinced by his own experience of madam de Liancourt's power, he sought to make her approve this project: but the terms he was upon with this lady not permitting him to propose it to her himself, he concealed his own interest in the affair, and made use of the interposition of others. He caused it to be hinted to the chancellor de Chiverny, and, by his means, to a lady who could not fail of making her court by it to madam de Liancourt, that the king might easily provide a noble inheritance for her son Cæsar, by driving out the Spaniards from Franche-Comté, and giving him the possession of it, under the sovereignty of the Thirteen Cantons, who would be induced by their own interest to favour the attempt. Madam de Liancourt, I am persuaded, could not flatter herself with the hope of gaining the king's consent to so ridiculous a scheme; and durst not even communicate it to him, though this prince's passion † for her was so great, that he suffered no one to be ignorant of it: but there needed no more to make him resolve upon a journey to Burgundy, than this lady's joining herself to those who advised him to it. Such is a court, and thus are kings

† "He went through Paris, having this lady by his side; he took her with him to hunt, and caressed her before all the world." *Journ. de l'Étoile*, *ibid.* And we may judge of the attachment of Henry IV. to this lady, from the letters he writ to her: which see in the collection newly printed.

imposed upon : from whence they may learn, that, whatever ideas they may have conceived of the wisdom and abilities of their ministers, to judge truly of every transaction it is the surest way to study carefully the secret inclinations, interest, and dispositions of those who are nearest to their persons.

To remedy, in some measure, the inconveniences which might arise from leaving the frontiers of Picardy exposed to the inroads of the Spanish troops that were in Flanders, the king, who was not, like others, imposed upon by the great promises that England and Holland made him, left messieurs de Nevers, de Bouillon, de Villars, and de St. Paul †, upon this frontier, with each a detachment under their command; enjoining them to assist each other upon occasion, and above all recommending a good intelligence amongst themselves. In case of a reunion, the duke of Nevers was appointed to command in chief. He provided with the same wisdom and foresight for the affairs at home, by establishing a council, which, besides the finances, was to take cognizance of all the treaties that were made with the provinces, cities, and governors; of all affairs relating to war; and of the administration of justice throughout the kingdom.

As soon as his majesty had publicly explained himself with regard to the forming this council, the count of Scissons wished to be made president of it; and began to insinuate something to that purpose in the king's presence. That I might remove his resentment against me for traversing his marriage, I solicited this title for him, which was more honourable than effective, and in all appearance would be of short duration: but the king, whose aversion for the count increased every day, had already fixed upon the prince of Conti, and at dinner declared his purpose before the whole court. Then turning to the

† Francis d'Orleans, count de St. Paul, governor of Provence.

count of Soissons, he told him, that, knowing his disposition to be turned wholly towards war, he would keep him about his person this campaign; and ordered him to get his company of gendarmes in readiness to attend him. The prince of Conti answered only with a profound bow, because he expressed himself with difficulty; and the count of Soissons did the same, because anger hindered him from speaking: all his majesty said to him being accompanied with praises of his valour, and an air of distinction which forced him to appear satisfied.

THE members of the new council were almost all the same that had composed the former; to which were added three intendants, Heudicourt, Marcel, and Guibert: the number was afterwards augmented to eight, by joining to those three, Incarville, Des-Barreaux, Atichy, Santeny, and Vienne, and a secretary named Meillant. Although the duke of Nevers was not now in the council, the king found no less difficulty in procuring me a place in this than in the former. He was afraid to propose it at first, on account of the catholicks, who could not suffer a protestant in power: but he broke through this obstacle three days afterwards; and the reason he gave for it to the other counsellors was, that the confidence which the prince of Conti had in me, rendered my association necessary even to themselves.

THE road his majesty was to take being through Moret, I attended him so far, not so much to receive him there, since madam de Rosny could have done that without me, as to have an opportunity of conferring privately with this prince, and to receive his last instructions concerning affairs that might in his absence be brought before the council, the members whereof did not long continue in a state of friendship. My colleagues, perceiving by the private dispatches I received from the king, that I was in possession of his confidence, entered, through jealousy, into a combination against me, looking upon me as one
who

who would carry away all the honour of every meritorious act that was performed by the council. They sought to disgust me, or to force me to silence, by joining in a constant opposition to all I said; but finding that, notwithstanding this behaviour, I still persisted to take my own measures, they had recourse to another stratagem, and in our assemblies every affair was discussed but what related to the finances, which was referred to private meetings, either at the chancellor's or at Sancy's; and there all was regulated without my participation. I did not dissemble my thoughts of this collusion, but declared to them, that I had no desire to mix in their debates; and, instead of signing their decrees, protested against them, and retired to Moret. The members of the council, who could not even invent any pretence for the disgust they gave me, being afraid of his majesty's reproaches, prevailed upon the prince of Conti himself to intreat me to return. Being always naturally incapable of flattery, or of disguising my sentiments, I replied, that since they did not rectify the abuses which had been introduced into the finances, although they were sufficiently acquainted with them, I would at least avoid the reproach of following their conduct, and would stay at Moret, rather than be a witness of faults which I saw committed with impunity.

THE king, whom I informed of what had happened to me, found so much conformity between his situation and mine, that he thought he could not console me more effectually, than by complaining to me in his turn. He had indeed most ungovernable spirits to deal with. The count of Soissons, who had followed him with reluctance, revenged himself by repeated instances of his caprice and ill humour. But not all his endeavours could induce the king, however greatly he was offended, to order him to retire; which was the point he wished to bring him to: and he was at last obliged to go of his

own accord, upon a pretence so very trifling, that it had scarcely the appearance of one. A report being spread that the constable of Castile was approaching, the king ordered the constable de Montmorency, and marechal Biron, to bring up the two bodies of troops which they commanded: the count of Soissons alledged that, by his post of high-steward of the king's household, he had a right to the chief command of these troops in his majesty's absence, and asserted his claim to it in his presence. The king did not think proper even to request a favour of this nature from the constable, and the marechal; and used his utmost endeavours to banish so ridiculous a notion from the count's mind. He solicited, he intreated him, as he would have done his son or brother (these were his majesty's own words) but in vain: the count, who did not err through ignorance, quitted him with a dissembled discontent, and prevailed upon part of the soldiers under his command to do the like. The king immediately dispatched letters to his council, to take proper measures upon the count's flight: the same messenger left one for me as he passed by Moret. Henry did not yet know that I had retired thither; but we had agreed upon this expedient to conceal from my enemies the correspondence I had with his majesty.

THREE or four days after the receipt of this letter, my servants informed me that some soldiers were just arrived, who insisted upon quartering at Saint-Mamert, a village upon the confluence of the Seine and the Loin; dependent upon Moret, and distant from it about a quarter of a league. I sent Camord to bring me intelligence who they were, and what was their design. They not only neglected to send me, by this gentleman, the usual compliments upon these occasions, but likewise answered him insolently, that they had a right to quarter in any place where their horses began to be fatigued, and all that could be required of them was to do no mischief. They refused

refused to name their captains, and only said that they belonged to the count of Soissons. That I might leave these officers no excuse for their rudeness, I wrote to them a second time, telling them that, since they belonged to the count of Soissons, who honoured me with his friendship, they were welcome to quarter at Moret; that I would provide them lodgings in the inns and houses of the town's people, where they would have greater conveniency; and just hinted to them that I was sensible of the manner in which they had received my deputy. Camord, whom I would have sent with this second message, told me, that it would have no other effect than to increase the insolence of these officers, who came with a premeditated design to affront me, which he confirmed by several other circumstances of his reception, that he had concealed from me before, to avoid a greater misfortune. Madam de Rosny, who was present at this relation, began to give way to female fears; and accusing Camord with imprudence, said she had rather that the whole village of Saint-Mamert was laid in ruins, than see me, for so slight an occasion, at variance with the count, and exposed to a contest with his officers.

I OBLIGED my wife to be silent; and after arresting five or six of the troopers, who came to get their equipages mended at Moret, and to purchase provisions, I again sent Camord to those insolent officers. They received him still worse than before, and hardly forbore laying hands on him; mingling great threatening with their complaints for the detention of their soldiers. It was no longer possible to dissemble: and all that now remained to be done, was to assert my authority, yet with all imaginable moderation. I ordered twelve other troopers, who had just entered Moret, to be arrested; and in two hours time assembled an hundred and fifty arquebusers, thirty horse, and thirty foot soldiers; with whom I marched to Saint-Mamert, by the road that

leads to it by land, and which has a thick shade of trees on each side; while the rest of my troop pursued the same rout upon the river, in a flat boat covered with planks, and arrived at the same time with me under the houses of the village situated near the river. The count of Soissons' party, seeing this double escort, detached some of their men to ask me what I meant by it? "Nothing, replied I calmly, but that this village belonging to me, I come to quarter my soldiers here." The officers by these words understood that I was not disposed to yield to them; and sent again to make excuses for what had happened, telling me that they had no design to quarter in any place belonging to me, without my permission; which the count of Soissons would never pardon them for. In effect, they paid for what provisions they had bought, and remounted their horses, without even demanding the prisoners, whom I sent after them as soon as they had reached Dormelles. They thanked me, and offered me their service, which entirely removed my anger. I sent the officers a dozen bottles of wine and two pies; after which I mounted my horse, to go, in obedience to his majesty's order, to consult with the prince of Conti upon the measures necessary to be taken with regard to the count of Soissons' desertion.

THIS misfortune was very inconsiderable, compared to that which happened in Picardy. The jealousy of command created a misunderstanding between the duke of Nevers and the duke of Bouillon. The counts of Fuentes and Rosne, who commanded the Spanish troops, and were doubtless informed of it, took advantage of their division, and laid siege to Catelet and Capelle. The first of these two places wanted provisions and ammunition; and the second had a dishonourable governor: but the loss of them was chiefly occasioned by the two French generals †,

† Brantome justifies the duke de Nevers concerning the defeat the French met with at Dourlens; and observes that he advanced

who, through hatred of each other, neglected to give them any assistance.

THINGS were in this state, when the governor of Ham, a place belonging to the Spaniards, being discontented with his garrison, resolved to deliver up the castle of Ham to the king, which would necessarily include the surrender of the city. He addressed himself to the duke of Longueville, and intreated him to send him a powerful assistance, having a very numerous garrison to oppose. The duke of Longueville acquainted his general officers, and the duke of Bouillon in particular, with the affair, who promised him a speedy supply. Upon this assurance, the duke of Longueville, that he might not by delay lose so favourable an opportunity, hastened immediately to Ham with d'Humieres †, followed by some Picardine troops, and threw part of them into the castle, and part in the adjacent places, endeavouring to reduce the city by scaling and petarding. The enemy's garrison defended themselves like lions, and repulsed them several times; and probably a fiercer action of this kind never happened. At length, the French, animated by the bravery of their leaders, who found that it was in vain to expect any assistance from the duke of Bouillon, attacked the trench next the castle, carried it, and entered the city. The Spanish garrison received them there with great intrepidity: being forced to give ground, they rallied again several times, and many little battles were fought in the squares, cross ways, and even in the houses; till they were all, to the number of a thousand or twelve hundred men, cut in pieces. But the French bought this advantage very dear; they lost thirty of their best officers, among whom were du* Cluseau and la Croix, and d'Humieres || himself, the best and bravest officer in all Picardy.

by long marches, and that he ordered them to wait for him; but the other commanders did not think proper to do so. Tom. III. p. 268.

† Charles lord of Humieres.

* N. Blancard du Cluseau.

|| Nothing can be added to the eulogium which M. de Thou gives

MESSIEURS de Saint-Paul, de Bouillon, and Villars, thought they could not better employ their troops, during this interval, than by raising the siege of Dourlens, which had been attacked by Fuentes and Rosne, after the taking of Catelet and Capelle. The duke of Bouillon brought four hundred horse, Villars as many, and Saint-Paul five hundred; and their infantry consisted in all, of two thousand men, which they determined to throw into the city, if they failed of driving the besiegers from before it.

ABOUT half a league from Dourlens, Bouillon having sent fifty of his troop five hundred paces before him, to gain the summit of a mountain, from whence they might have a full view of the city and the camp of the besiegers, four of their horses, who preceded the others, perceived a body of the enemy coming directly towards them, between the camp and the hill. This was, in effect, their whole army, in order of battle, which had got intelligence of our design. But these four troopers being hindered by their fear from making a perfect discovery, made a false report to the duke of Bouillon, who, supposing it to be only a detachment, hastened his march with his squadron. Arriving at the top of the hill, he plainly saw his mistake. One party of one hundred horse, preceded two squadrons of six hundred each, which followed at the distance of about a thousand paces, and were supported by three other squadrons, consisting of an equal number, and a body of seven or eight thousand foot. The hundred horse, perceiving Bouillon, galloped towards him, followed at a great pace by the two first squadrons, all armed cap-a-pie, and lances by their sides; which left him no room to doubt but that the French were discovered, and that they would be obliged to engage, notwithstanding the inequality of their numbers, the Spa-

this gentleman; he says book cxii. that the king and the whole kingdom lamented him: his life and illustrious actions fill the 893^{oth} vol. of MSS. de la Biblioth. de Roi,

niards being stronger by two-thirds than they, unless he could conceal from them his little party.

BOUILLON, sending a gentleman to the admiral, to desire he would come immediately to his assistance; Villars, who was bravery itself, without answering a single word, armed himself in the midst of his troopers, and making them put their helmets on, exhorted them no otherwise than by bidding them follow him; and Bouillon saw him in an instant at his side. Finding him in such a good disposition, he told him, that to prevent the enemy from discovering their rear, it was necessary to charge them with as much fury as possible. The admiral staid not to be desired a second time; but, supposing that he should be vigorously assisted by Bouillon, advanced through emulation, before his troop, and galloping intrepidly towards the enemy, suddenly attacked the left wing, threw himself, with his pistol in his hand, amidst that forest of lances, and carrying terror and dismay through the first six hundred horse, would have cut them in pieces, and perhaps have gained still greater advantages, if he had been seconded with equal bravery: but Bouillon, on his side, made only a false attack; after which he wheeled about and retreated, and has since constantly maintained, that it was this only which had been agreed upon between the * admiral and him, although all those who accompanied the latter have unanimously asserted, that he meant a true attack.

* If we will not give credit to his biographer, let us believe M. de Thou, who entirely clears the duke de Bouillon: he, moreover, says, that the admiral de Villars was acquainted by the count de Saint-Paul to retire; but that he did not take this notice for any other than a kind of order of the duke de Bouillon, to which he refused to pay any regard, through a piece of vanity and bravery which cannot be excused from the imputation of temerity, liv. cxii. D'Aubigné speaks in the same manner as de Thou, tom. III. liv. iv. ch. 9. Les Mem. de la Ligue, tom. vi. and Matthieu, tom. II. liv. i. The opinion of Carot is, that the admiral de Villars would willingly have taken advantage of the advice which the duke of Bouillon caused to be given him to retire, but that he was then too far engaged. Chron, No-yenn. liv. vii. p. 504.

THIS mistake, if it was one, had a consequence as fatal as it might have been expected: the enemy's squadron which Bouillon had attacked and afterwards shunned, was the first to fall upon Villars, who was then conqueror of his own; and being that instant joined by fresh troops, which came pouring on him in great numbers, his squadron, being quite overwhelmed, could find their safety only in flight. Villars, incapable of fear, and disdainful to turn his back upon the enemy, performed wonders with a few brave men who would not abandon him; but at last, being attacked on all sides, and surrounded by the enemy, they were all thrown to the ground and expired, pierced with a thousand wounds, or massacred in cold blood †.

BOUILLON gained nothing by this sacrifice of his colleague: the victorious enemy attacked his squadron, the other, commanded by Saint-Paul, and the whole body of foot. Their leader had not inspired them, by his example, with a resolution to defend themselves. Bouillon and Saint-Paul fled with their cavalry, leaving the foot without any means of safety; in effect, they were all cut off. After this, the besieged city in vain demanded to capitulate. The enemy, intoxicated with their good fortune, would listen to no propositions, but stormed the place while they were parlying, and inhumanly butchered all they found in it. I had this whole relation from La-Font, who, after the loss of his master, returned to my service; and the reader may be assured that it is absolutely true, since this man deserves all the faith that is due to a man of honour, and an eye-witness

† The admiral de Villars was among these last: after having been made prisoner by some Neapolitans, a Spanish captain, named Contrera, entered on purpose into a dispute with them about having him, and he made a handle of their refusal, to kill him. L'Etoile says, that the hatred which the Spaniards bore him, from the time that he quitted the party of the league for that of the king, was the true cause of his death. He gives him the same encomiums as M. de Rosny. Journ. de P. de l'Etoile, ann. 1595.

of what he relates. He told me, that more than three thousand French were lost upon this occasion; and, what is truly deplorable, more valiant men perished, than in those three great battles the king fought at Coutras, Arques, and Ivry: France, in Villars alone, sustained an irreparable loss; to the general grief of the kingdom, I joined mine in particular, for the loss of a true and incomparable friend.

ANOTHER letter, equally worthy of credit, from the sieur Baltazar, whom I had charged expressly not to omit the smallest circumstance relating to the actions of the king's army, puts it in my power to inform the reader of all that passed. In this recital he will, with great pleasure, behold a king whom the sweets of royalty had not power to alter; his successes were such, in all their circumstances, as could be attributed to nothing but his own valour and good conduct, and the glory of them was heightened by the opposition of those misfortunes which happened in all places where he was not in person. This campaign of Henry's in Franche-Comté, in the opinion of the best judges, exceeded all he had hitherto performed.

I HAVE before observed, that marechal Biron was employed in assisting the citizens of Dijon, who held the enemy's garrison besieged in their castle. He arrived there very fortunately: the viscount of Tavannes * having brought a considerable reinforcement to this garrison, the besieged became besiegers in their turn. The citizens, pressed on all sides, and reduced to the last extremity, could only defend themselves at the end of a street to which they had retired, and had but one of the city gates in their possession, when Biron came to their assistance, and re-animated their courage; they once more drove out the viscount Tavannes, and surrounded the castles of

* John de Saulx, made a marechal of France by the league, and lieutenant of Burgundy for the duke of Maïenne.

Dijon and Talan †. In the midst of these transactions Biron was informed that the duke of Maienne, full of grief for the success of the king's arms in Burgundy, had so earnestly solicited the constable of Castile for assistance, that the latter was upon the point of passing the Alps, with his army, to enter Burgundy. Biron, concealing this intelligence from the king, contented himself with only sending to intreat he would come as soon as possible to help him to reduce the castle of Dijon. The king was come to Troyes when he received the marechal's dispatches; and barely guessing at a circumstance which the marechal had an absolute certainty of, namely, that the constable of Castile, who, he supposed, would soon pass into Flanders, would take Dijon in his way, to settle there the affairs of the league with the duke of Maienne, he marched thither hastily, and put every thing in motion, that they might find nothing more to do at their arrival.

It is not to be doubted but that these two generals might still have been able to have prevented the king, and preserved the castles of Dijon, had they not stopped unseasonably in their way to take Veson, and some other little places in Franche-Compté, which had been seized by the troops of Lorrain. To this voluntary delay necessity afterwards added another at Gray, by the overflowing of the river Saone, which made it impossible for them to pass it. To remove this obstacle, the constable of Castile caused a bridge to be built over the river: but by his carrying on this work so slowly, it seemed as if he was afraid of engaging himself in the heart of France, with so many rivers behind him. The truth was, this general already knew that he had the king before him.

WHEN the king left Troyes he sent the count of

† About half a league from Dijon, where an Italian, named Francisque, commanded,

Torigny † with eight or nine hundred horse before him; with which marechal Biron was extremely pleased. Four days after, Henry himself arrived at Dijon, and, without dismounting, went immediately to reconnoitre the outworks, and all the neighbouring places; especially on that side where the enemy might be expected. He caused deep trenches to be made, and by that means cut off all communication between the two castles. This done, the king perceiving that notwithstanding all the efforts he could make, the castles might still hold out a long time, he went, according to his usual custom, with a small detachment to meet the enemy, that he might retard their march, and give time to the rest of the troops to finish their enterprize. Having so inconsiderable a number with him, he thought if he could find his enemies employed in their passage over the Saone, it would afford him a favourable opportunity: he therefore appointed Lux and ‡ Fontaine-Françoise for a rendezvous for the rest of his troops, and marched before with only three hundred horse, half of whom were arquebusiers; and with this little escorte advanced to the Vigenne, near Saint-Seine: from thence he detached the marquis of Mirebeau §, with fifty or sixty horse, to get intelligence; and in the mean time he passed the river of Vigenne with a hundred, or a hundred and twenty horse; designing only to reconnoitre the ground, and the form of a country, where he might possibly be obliged to come to an action.

HE had not marched more than a league, when he saw Mirebeau return in great disorder; who told him, that he had been charged by three or four hundred horse; which had prevented him from getting

† Odet de Matignon, count de Torigny, eldest son to the marechal.

‡ Upon the frontiers of Burgundy and Franche-Comté: this expedition happened in the beginning of June.

§ James Cabot, marquis of Mirebeau, and count de Charni, counsellor of state, and lieutenant in Burgundy for the king, died in 1670.

a full view of the enemy; but added, that he believed those four hundred horse had been sent to seize the post of Saint-Seine, and that they were followed close by the whole army. Biron, who arrived that instant, offered to go and make a clearer discovery. At the distance of a thousand paces, he found, upon a little hill, an advanced guard, consisting of sixty horse, which he attacked; and taking their place, saw plainly the whole Spanish army marching in order of battle; and in particular, a body of four hundred horse, which, advancing before the rest of the army, pursued a party of one hundred and fifty French. This was the party commanded by d'Auffonville *, whom his majesty had sent to make discoveries on the other side. D'Auffonville, by flying, turned the arms of the pursuers on Biron. The enemy's detachment divided into two bands, attacked him on the right and left, doubtless with the same intention as Biron, to discover what forces were in the rear. The difference between them was, that the enemies, being supported by near six hundred horse, were two-thirds superior in number to the two squadrons commanded by Biron and Mirebeau, which made up only three hundred.

NOTWITHSTANDING this inequality, Biron continued to make a stand: he separated his three hundred horse into three equal platoons, placing Mirebeau, with the first, on the right; the baron of Lux † with the second, on the left; and posted himself, with the third, in the middle. The enemy attacked each side at once, with a hundred and fifty men: Lux suffered greatly, and was even thrown to the ground, with many others: Biron, having the advantage in his place, flew to his assistance, and re-

* baron d'Auffonville de Saint George, a gentleman of Lorraine.

† Edme de Malain, baron de Lux or Luz: he was a counsellor of state, captain of fifty gens d'armes, and the king's lieutenant in Burgundy. We shall speak of him when we come to mention marshal Biron's conspiracy, in which he was an accomplice.

animated his troops; but was himself charged with such impetuosity by all the enemy's squadrons united together, towards whom he saw others from the main body of the army still advancing, that he was obliged to retreat. This retreat, as soon as the enemy's horse drew nearer, was changed into a real flight; in which condition he came within view of the king, who immediately sent a hundred horse to support him. Nothing is more difficult than to stop the flight of a squadron when the enemy is at their heels; the last hundred men caught the contagion of fear, and returned flying with those they went to assist.

THE king now finding that all depended upon himself, advanced towards the fugitives, without taking time to put on his helmet, exposed himself to the fury of the victorious squadrons, which consisted of more than eight hundred men, called his principal officers by their names, and throwing himself every where, without any regard to his own person, obliged some of the fugitives at last to stop. He composed two bodies of the whole, and putting himself at the head of a hundred and fifty horse, returned to the charge on one side, while la Trémouille †, with a like number, did the same, by his order, on the other: had it not been for such an exertion of courage, it is probable, that not one of those three hundred men, engaged thus on the farther side of a river, with a victorious body of cavalry in front, would have escaped. The king *, giving his soldiers an

† Claude de la Trémouille, duke of Thouars.

* The king said, that upon other occasions and emergencies into which he had happened to fall, he fought for victory, but here he contended for his life. Perefixe, Matthieu, Cayet, le Grain, and d'Aubigné, relate the actions of this day in the same manner; but M. de Thou, and vol. 8929 of the royal MSS. with some little difference. D'Aubigné says, that the king did not shew himself entirely satisfied, that only the dukes de la Trémouille and d'Elbeuf joined together with a good grace, "to brush off," says he, "the dew before his majesty." Tom. III. liv. iv. ch. 8. But according to de Thou, he

example, threw himself, bare-headed, amidst six of the enemy's squadrons, broke through them, and forced them to give ground. Biron, taking advantage of this opportunity, rallied about a hundred and twenty horse, and returned to support the king, and all together drove the enemy's horse back to the main body of the duke of Maienne's army.

HENRY would not have suffered his ardour to have transported him so far, but that he did not immediately perceive, that a wood on each side of him was crowded with fusileers, to whose discharge he had like to have been exposed, and would have been surrounded by them, if, in the heat of the fight, he had attacked the Spanish army: he therefore stopped his career, and kept himself upon his guard. At that moment he perceived two other bodies of horse, who came out of one of those woods to strengthen the advanced guard, which he had vanquished. This was one of those critical moments, when the least want of precaution brings on inevitable ruin. The king, who with one glance perceiv-

he commended much before the parliament, Mirebeau, la Curée, and many others.

"I have no need of counsel but of assistance," replied Henry IV. to those who advised him to make his escape on a good Turkish horse that was got ready for him; "there is more hazard in the flight than 'the chase.'" Mattheu, tom. II. liv. i. p. 187. "Mainville," adds this historian, "who stood near him, and his pistol ready charged for the first of the enemy that came near him, let fire at one so *a propos*, that he shot him quite through the head; and the ball came whistling so about the king's ears, that he never spoke of a pistol but he remembered this report, saying, That it was the loudest he had ever heard, having been charged with two steel balls." According to the account of the same historian, the duke de Maienne demanded only four hundred horse of the Spanish general to attack the king's troops; which the Spaniard refused him, being persuaded that Henry only wanted to draw him into an ambuscade. This distrust of the enemy was the occasion of his escape at Fontaine-Françoise, as it had been before at Aumale. And what is more surprizing is, that this prince only lost six men in so hot an action; while on the enemy's side were killed one hundred and twenty, besides two hundred wounded, and sixty taken prisoners. Chron. Novenn. liv. vii. p. 497.

ed the design of these troops, ordered his to halt and thicken their ranks, that they might be in a condition to receive them; for in the heat of his victory he overturned all that opposed him, and found himself at large before all those battalions, who were astonished at the miracles they saw him perform. Henry knew this surprize would not last long, and that he would have the fury of a whole army to sustain, animated by the sight of a handful of foes, to repair the shame of such an astonishing defeat; he therefore took advantage of the enemy's inaction, to regain at least his first post, without being pursued; and disengaged himself from the midst of the enemy's army with so much order and superiority, that they could make themselves no amends for their loss. And this prince, in one day, and almost in one moment, acquired the honour of the most glorious victory, and finest retreat, that ever any history afforded an example of.

ON his arrival, he found the count of Cheverny †, the chevalier d'Oise, messieurs de Vitry, de Clermont, de Risse, d'Arambure, de la Curée, d'Heures, de Saint-Geran, and de la Boulaye, with each his company, which being joined to those troops the king had before, composed a body of eight hundred horse. After this reinforcement the enemy durst not attack them, being persuaded that his whole army was not far off; and not yet recovered from their consternation at the defeat of their men by a platoon scarce the sixth part of their number, they turned back, placing their infantry in the rear to cover their cavalry. The king followed them close, and harra-

† Henry Huralt, count de Cheverny, George de Brancas-Villars, Louis de l'Hôpital-Vitry, George de Clermont d'Amboise, de Crequy de Riffey, Jean d'Arambure, and Gilbert Filhet de la Curée, who also was in the engagement, where he fought without armour, and badly mounted. A voice, which he thought to be the king's, called to him, "Take care, Curée;" when, lo, he found it was one of the enemy, who was just ready to run him through with his lance; but he killed him. Vol. 8929. MSS. de la Bibliot. de Roi.

fed them continually, till they had repass'd the Saone upon the bridge they had built below Gray. Not daring to attempt the passage again, Burgundy, by this exploit, remained wholly at the king's discretion : he reduced it all in a few days, except the Seure †, and seized several little towns in Franche-Compté, which he released at the intreaty of the Swifs. These advantages were all owing to the battle of Fontaine-Françoise.

HENRY, when he learnt the defeat of his forces in Picardy, confessed, that those advantages, great as they were, did not equal that loss. He quitted Burgundy and the Lyonnois immediately, and marched hastily towards Paris. Passing by Moret, I acquainted him with my motives for leaving the council : he approved of them, and was of opinion, that the confidence which the other members of it perceived he reposed in me, and the desire I had to make myself still more worthy that distinction, had drawn their enmity upon me. He had the goodness to console me for it, by assuring me that my sufferings upon this occasion would only increase his friendship for me. I agreed with his majesty, that at a time when the check his forces received at Dourlens might occasion a revolution, there was a necessity to dissemble his disgust, and to avoid accusing any one. It was to me only that the king complained of the authors of that fatal accident, and deplored the dangerous effects of enmity between leaders, which is almost the sole cause of the greatest disasters in war. He appeared sensibly affected with the loss of admiral Villars, and never mentioned him but with the highest praises : nor could he be deceived by any thing which the interested parties advanced, to place all that had happened to the account of the deceased.

It was then that this prince was convinced, and acknowledged to me, that he had yielded unreason-

† Seure, a town upon the river Saone : it has changed its name, and now is called Pellegarde.

ably to proposals for a war, the success of which he had been persuaded was infallible : he was even candid enough to treat it as an error which might plunge France once more into greater miseries than those she had just been delivered from. By speaking thus, the king only reflected on the greatness of a loss such as Catelet, Capelle, Ardres †, Dourlens, Cambray, from which Balagny had been just driven ; and Calais especially, which though not yet taken, was looked upon as already lost. As for me, I thought the kingdom was then in most danger, when the king, by an astonishing instance of valour and good fortune, preserved Burgundy and his own life. From that time Henry used to say, that a declaration of war was one of those affairs that required the greatest deliberation, and could never be sufficiently enough attended to. From this example princes may still draw another lesson no less useful, which is, that they ought never to entertain a personal hatred for their neighbours, and that prudence, on certain occasions, requires them to seem disposed for a reconciliation, notwithstanding the most violent, and even the most just resentment.

THE king was careful to avoid discovering his thoughts in public ; on the contrary, he endeavoured to revive the courage of those who seemed most deprest. To the Parisians, who made him compliments of condolance upon his loss, he replied that it might be easily repaired, provided they would join actions to words. They made him great offers ; but his majesty, who had had frequent proofs of the little dependence he could have on them, took his own measures, and without waiting for the accomplishment of their promises, left Paris the next day, with the satisfaction of hearing before he went, by a cou-

§ Ardres was surrendered to the enemy by the count de Belin, almost without making any defence : for which he was disgraced, turned out of his places, and sent home to his estate, &c. Bongars Epist. 75 ad Camer. Morisot, ch. 33.

rier from Rome, that the pope had been at last prevailed upon to grant him the absolution † he had so long solicited. In the present conjuncture, this news was of the utmost importance.

To this absolution the holy father annexed the following conditions ‡: That the king should ex-

† “What made the pope,” says M. de Perefice, “delay giving absolution so long was, said he, because that he alone had the power of restoring penitents: and he was very much displeas'd that the prelates of France had taken upon them to absolve him, tho' they had only done it provisionally, *ad cautelam*.”

‡ Besides these conditions, the original of which may be seen in vol. 8778 of the MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, where the act of absolution of Henry IV. is set down at length, in Italian, the holy father imposes therein for penance upon this prince, to hear on every Sunday and festival, a conventual mass in the chapel royal, and private mass every week day, to say the rosary every Sunday, the chaplet every Saturday, and the litanies every Wednesday, to fast every Friday, to confess and communicate publicly at least four times a year. I observe, in this act, that the pope, after having given this prince absolution, then entitles him only the king of France and Navarre. At each verse of the *Miserere*, the holy father gave a light touch of the penitentiary crook on the shoulders of M. Du-Perron, and M. d'Offat, who are therein called *Procuratori di Navarre*: this is but an ordinary formality in this sort of ceremony; upon which the protestant writers have not failed to comment with great indignity, by saying that Henry IV. had submitted to receive lashes of the whip from the procurator, and other such like calumnies: but these malicious pleasantries have not been able to impose upon any, since M. de Thou and all the sensible writers have shewn, that they were altogether unjust and without foundation. M. de Sully, as far as appears, had got over this popular error; but I know not if he observes the same equity with regard to M. d'Offat.

What he says here, and in many other places of these Memoirs, excited in me a curiosity to read carefully the collection of this cardinal's letters, who is reputed amongst us to have been as good a Frenchman as an able statesman. I will speak freely my mind as to each grievance which furnishes the duke de Sully with occasion of attacking him, according as they fall in my way. And to begin with that of Henry IV's absolution, it appears to me, after examining all he says on this head, page 45, 48, 105, 107, 115, 129, 208, &c. of the old edition in folio, that we cannot but acknowledge on one hand, that he met with great scruples in the pope's breast, and real difficulties on the part of the sacred college: that he applied himself with great assiduity and with equal success to surmount them; and that any but he would have had much to do to have conquered them; as is evident from what happened to the duke de Nevers, the cardinal de Retz, the marquis de Pisany, and others: that for his own part he is very far from approving the many subterfuges to which the court of Rome had often re-

clude the protestants from all employments and dignities, and use his utmost endeavours to suppress them entirely: That he should restore the celebration of mass in Bearn, and obliged the huguenots to make restitution to the catholics of all the effects which had been taken from the ecclesiastics: That he should prevail upon the prince of Condé to embrace the roman catholic religion: That he should publish and cause the council of Trent to be received: and lastly, That the jesuits should be again established in France. These conditions which regarded the protestants and the council of Trent were not complied with, the rest were.

THOSE persons who thought the king received laws from the pope upon this occasion, ought to lay the blame upon Du-Perron, and still more upon Arnaud d'Osset, then agent for this affair at Rome. These two ecclesiastics were so far from rejecting these conditions, that they would have been grieved, if they had not been insisted upon; if any credit may be given to a memorial which was many years afterwards sent me from Rome, and which I shall speak of fully in its place: it affords a complete proof of what I have just advanced, at least with regard to d'Osset.

course in their formalities; and even that all this chicane made him often uneasy, as also the unfair dealing which, he complains, they used in the bull of absolution. However, in opposition to all this, a man may perceive on the other hand in these very places, and still more in all those passages that in any measure relate to the protestants, the jesuits, or the council of Trent, &c. that his eminence was not at all disturbed, that the affair of the king's absolution had passed under the restrictions of which M. de Sully complains so bitterly: whether it was that M. d'Osset did not perceive therein the pretended lesion of the honour of the crown, and the prejudice done to the liberties of the Gallican church, which I leave to the learned to determine; or whether he believed that all these precautions became necessary for the interest of religion; or lastly, whether he were not biased in favour of the maxims of the league: and yet all this does not hinder me from subscribing to the encomiums which our best historians have given this cardinal; and in the last place Amelot de la Houffaye, in the life he gives us of him that is prefixed to the edition of his letters,

THIS memorial advances two things relating to the king's absolution, which proves one of the principal articles: that the pope and the whole sacred college were so ardently desirous of the king's applying to Rome for this ceremony, that they could not conceal their fears, when they were sometimes informed that Henry would be brought to despise it, or look upon it as useless; and this the author proves from their own letters: secondly, that d'Offat, instead of informing the king of this disposition in the court of Rome, which he would have done had his honour and dignity been of the smallest consequence to him, on the contrary gave this prince to understand, that he could not obtain a reconciliation with his holiness, but by offering an incroachment upon the liberties of the Gallican church, and purchasing it by those conditions already mentioned. Henry, however, rewarded his two agents with the highest dignity in the prelacy.

IN three days his majesty arrived at Péronne, where he was immediately saluted by Balagny. This man, who by an excess of ridiculous vanity †, had

to which I refer the reader. The abbé Du-Perron and M. de Villeroi, had likewise done considerable service to Henry IV. in the affair of his absolution. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 210, & seq.

† M. de Perefice says, that Cambrai was taken by famine: others, as Matthieu, blame the misunderstanding that subsisted between the dukes de Nevers and de Bouillon for it; and others again the negligence of Balagny. The Memoirs of the league, tom. VI. remark, that three companies of Swiss, not having had their pay given them, compelled him to deliver up the place. All the historians have cried up the courage of Renée de Clermont, the wife of Balagny, and sister to the brave Bussy d'Amboise, who, after having, to no purpose, done all she could to inspire resolution into the garrison and her husband, did not chuse to survive the loss of her principality, and died either of famine or grief. "And here in one article, is an abstract of the greatest disgrace that France has suffered from foreigners in the memory of man." So speaks d'Aubigné, in concluding the 9th chapter, liv. iv. tom. III. of his history, in which he has collected the taking of Catelet, la Capelle, Ardres, Cambrai, Calais, and the defeat at Dourlens. Balagny tells a Spanish officer, who seemed surprized at seeing him take his mistress along with him, and in the same boat, that love softened all the cross accidents of fortune: "Right,"

just lost his government, his fortune, his wife, and his honour, instead of blushing for his folly, and concealing himself from reproach, affected to shew himself, talked big; and in this state, which was indeed the fittest for him, expected all that regarded which is generally paid to unfortunate sovereigns. The king resolved to attempt all things to assist Calais: finding that his troops were not sufficient to storm the camp of the besiegers, he took the only course that now remained, which was to throw himself into the place, at the head of a considerable reinforcement. Twice he embarked with this design, but a contrary wind forced him back again to land. While he despaired of accomplishing his enterprize, Matelet, governor of Foix, came to him, and offered to attempt a third time to enter Calais, promising him that, if he would give him four or five hundred gentlemen, he would so manage, either by sea or land, that he would open himself a passage. The king praising his resolution, gave him the escort he demanded; with which Matelet succeeded in his design, and entered Calais, after having surmounted a thousand obstacles †. But the glory of this brave action was soon obliterated, when it appeared that he had only joined the garrison to be in-

“ Right,” replied the Spaniard, “ and especially at present, as you will have less to do than you have had before.” P. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 219.

† Historians do not agree as to this action. Some, as de Thou and d'Aubigné, by saying nothing at all of it, seem to call it in question; others ascribe it to the sieur de Campagnole the younger; Davila and our Memoirs to Matelet, governor of Foix. Queen Elizabeth offered to defend Calais against the Spaniards, upon condition that the place were put into the hands of the English. Sancy, who was then ambassador at London, made answer to the queen, that the king his master would rather have it in the hands of the Spaniards than in those of the English: and Henry IV. said himself, “ If he were to be bit, he had rather it was by a lion than a lioness;” and this was the reason that queen Elizabeth afterwards refused to besiege that town, while Henry IV. lay before that of Amiens, though they offered then to put it into her hands by way of security. Matthieu, *ibid.* p. 223.

fected with their fears, and to consent to a capitulation: and the king had the mortification to march to Calais, only to see it surrendered before his face.

If it be demanded where during this time were all those French noblemen and officers who were so forward in advising the war; and why they suffered the king to bear the whole burthen of it, and suffer repeated losses? It must be owned, to the dishonour of the French name, that they expected to draw advantages to themselves by the misfortunes their imprudence occasioned, and their negligence augmented; and formed, in the mean time, projects more fatal to the king's authority than the bloodiest foreign war. These projects I shall mention immediately.

The king, equally superior to good and bad fortune, comforted those that were driven out of Calais, provided for the security of * Boulogne, Abbeville, Montreuil, Monthulin, and other towns and castles, and marched towards St. Quintin, fearing lest the enemies, who were not far from those quarters, should surprize some of the nobles, and general officers who came thither separately. They chose this opportunity for the execution of a design which they had formed, before they left Paris. The duke of Montpensier was the person whom they charged with this commission, not because he was more disaffected than the rest, but because his temper was most easy, and his understanding the weakest. He accosted the king at Saint-Quintin; and, in the name of the principal French nobility, proposed to him, as the only means of subduing his enemies, to resign to the governors of provinces the property of their governments, with an hereditary right to them, requiring nothing of them but their allegiance.

It is not easy to comprehend how a proposal which had so manifest a tendency to throw France

† Cities and forts in Picardy.

into a state of anarchy, that in former ages had filled it with blood and horror, could proceed from the mouth of a Frenchman, a prince, and what is more, a prince of the royal blood. Henry, struck with astonishment at the prodigious insolence of this affront offered to the royal dignity, for some moments could not utter a word, while the duke of Montpensier continuing a speech which had been studied long before, endeavoured to prove to his majesty, that while those governors, or rather those little princes, obliged themselves to maintain troops always ready for his service, he would be never again reduced to such a situation as he was in at present, to appear before his enemies without soldiers to oppose them. The king, though agitated with various passions, discovered none to the duke, but pity towards him for the unworthy part he played. He stopped him from proceeding farther, by telling him, without the least resentment, that he had already heard too much; and that he was convinced those French nobles had taken advantage of the easiness of his temper, to make him the bearer of a proposal, the whole meanness of which he was not sensible of, he who was a prince of the blood, and nearer to the crown than himself had formerly been. The king added much more to the same purpose, with equal calmness, and was so far from being apprehensive that he should be reduced to yield to such a proposition, and so determined to suffer a thousand deaths, if possible, rather than bring such a load of infamy upon the royal dignity, that he had not even the thought of entering into any discussion of this project, or of uttering a single word in answer to it §.

THE duke of Montpensier became sensible of his fault, by the air and tone with which his majesty spoke to him; he blushed and asked pardon for it, and intreated the king never to remember that he

§ "We are all gentlemen, said Henry IV. sometimes," before the princes of the blood.

had been capable of thus degrading himself from his rank. The king, after having shewn the duke the whole extent of his fault, directed him how, in some measure, to repair it, with those who had prevailed upon him to commit it; and assured him, that he for his own part would forget it entirely, and still regard him as his kinsman. The duke of Montpensier agreed to take the first opportunity that offered, when the authors of that insolent proposal brought it again on the carpet, to declare that he had reflected well upon the commission they had given him; that they might send their proposal by any other person, since he absolutely disapproved of it; and if ever he was to mention it to his majesty, it should be with a design to dissuade him from it; and that they might depend upon his using his utmost endeavours to hinder its taking effect. He performed his task so exactly, and with an air so natural, that he wholly disconcerted all those noblemen, and left them no inclination to make any attempts on his fidelity for the future.

It was therefore to reduce the king to the necessity of making them his equals, that the princes and governors of provinces in France so ill performed their promise of assisting him with troops. The duke of Bouillon was one of those who sold his services the dearest. His majesty, not doubting but he had a part in the plot, was willing to have a proof of it from the duke's perplexity, without letting him know that he was informed of it by other means. Bouillon did not want art and eloquence enough to conceal whatever he designed should not be known; but, besides that Henry possessed in no less degree the art of penetrating into the thoughts of those with whom he conversed, the presence of a sovereign is alone capable of abashing a man conscious of any secret guilt towards him. The king began by convincing himself that the duke of Montpensier had not betrayed their late discourse to the duke of Bouillon.

After

After which he introduced the defeat of Dourlens, by asking him plainly, and with a kind of confidence, how it happened that he had been disappointed in those certain correspondencies which as he said he carried on in Liege, Namur, and many other places in Luxembourg, and Hainault, upon which he was sensible the war had been undertaken?

BOUILLON, embarrassed by the question, and that air of simplicity with which it was proposed, instead of giving a direct answer concerning his pretended correspondencies, fell into long speeches, without meaning or end, which betrayed him more effectually, than the most sincere confession could have done. He accused all the world; the duke of Nevers, who he said had corrupted his officers and obstructed his levies; the English for not making the promised diversion; the Dutch for taking advantage of this conjuncture to increase the power on their side of Over-Iffel and Friesland. Upon which the duke of Bouillon, who sought only to turn the conversation still more from the first subject, told the king, that the true cause of the misfortune which had lately happened, was, that his majesty had no person of consequence, and on whom he could have an absolute dependence, at the court of London, to hasten the supplies that had been promised there; and at the same time offered himself for this embassy, and even solicited it earnestly. The king being of opinion that it would answer no purpose to press the duke any farther upon this fault, ceased to mention it; and reflecting that he should not lose much by his absence, consented at last to the embassy to England. Accordingly his commission was made out, and the duke of Bouillon, a few days after, set out for that kingdom.

It was from his majesty himself that I had an account of this conversation with the duke of Bouillon, as likewise that with the duke of Montpensier before mentioned.

THE king had no sooner quitted Bouillon, than reflecting that the duke, instead of having any design to serve him usefully at the court of London, had possibly only solicited that employment to give bad impressions there of his conduct, or at least to labour only for his own interest, he sent Jaquinot for me early in the morning, to communicate this fear to me. I kneeled on a cushion at his bedside, and his majesty asked me immediately what was said, and what I, in particular, thought of the long conversation he had just held with the duke of Bouillon. I replied, that every one guessed his own way; and that probably the affair of Ham, and Dourlens, and the proposal made by the duke of Montpensier, made up the greatest part of it. The king told me that I was mistaken; that he was too well acquainted with the duke of Bouillon's disposition, to doubt that any reproaches upon these occasions, instead of correcting, would only serve to throw him in an open revolt. His majesty afterwards, repeating exactly all that has been related concerning the embassy to England, proposed to me to accompany the duke of Bouillon thither, that I might carefully observe his conduct.

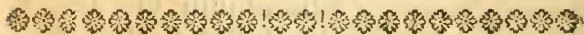
IN courts every thing is brought about by artifice. The king, after his conversation with the duke of Bouillon, telling his council for the finances, that he had sent the duke to England, these gentlemen, after conferring together, found nothing so fit to satisfy their hatred of me, as to persuade the king to join me with the duke of Bouillon. My abilities for negotiations were praised, an honour which they were resolved to deprive me of, when they had once succeeded in removing me from the king, who not penetrating into their views, approved of the proposal. But I did not so easily fall into the snare: I shewed his majesty the true motive of these gentlemen's feigned generosity with regard to me. From the moment that the duke of Bouillon discovered that

I watched his conduct, and disconcerted his projects, he would not fail to break with me; and such a genius as he possessed, when animated with malice, would suggest to him the means of throwing upon me the blame of all the faults he committed, and all the good he neglected to do. My enemies knew this as well as I; his majesty was convinced by my reasons, and pressed me no farther.

THE gentlemen of the council did not stop here: when they came again to the king, they were the first to confess that it was with reluctance they joined me to the duke of Bouillon; but since that duke was to stay but a short time at London, they had pitched upon me to take his place with the same title and equal honours. All was alike to them, provided they could get rid of me. The king was again influenced by their opinions, and some days after, declared his intention to me; ordering me to make preparations immediately for this voyage; to provide myself with money, and to dispose my wife to follow me, if I chose to have her with me; which, however, he did not think necessary, since I should not, he said, be absent above seven or eight months at most. The king perceiving my reluctance, accompanied this order with the most kind and obliging expressions his imagination could suggest; he told me that the present perplexed situation of his affairs hindering him from giving me the sole direction of the finances, he should reproach himself for exposing to the dangers of a long and furious siege the only man in his kingdom whom he thought worthy to fill that important post. His majesty had just then declared himself publicly concerning the siege of La-Fere.

WHILE the king was speaking, I was struck with astonishment at the obstinate persecution of my enemies, and the depth of their malice. Under the appearance of a title of honour vain in itself, and fatal in its consequences, they took away, and perhaps for

ever, all oportunities of advancing me: For who in my absence would be solicitous for my interest? Who would hinder them from prolonging my stay out of the kingdom, till, affairs having taken a fixed and durable state in France, there would be nothing left for a man who, by so long an absence, would be regarded as a stranger. These reflections kept me firm in my resolution not to go. I intreated the king not to force me to a journey for which I felt an invincible repugnance; and I had the good fortune to find that Henry was of himself disposed to believe that I should be of more use to him at Paris than London, during the siege he was going to undertake: he therefore sent me thither to facilitate his supplies of money, to furnish him with whatever was necessary towards carrying on the siege, to receive his orders there, make one of his council, and direct its resolutions. Had the choice of my revenge been in my own power, I could not have fixed upon any more effectual.



B O O K VIII.

THE motive which had determined the king to undertake so difficult a siege as that of La-Fere, was, that, his enemies having after their success separated their troops, he would not suffer his own, who had at last assembled, to remain idle, there being a necessity to secure Picardy, already shaken by so many repeated losses. Had I had the liberty of disposing of myself as I pleased, I should have chosen to continue with the king during this siege, whose too great solicitude for my safety I could by no means approve: but I did not dare to refuse the commission which would detain me in Paris; and his majesty, to render this order less displeasing, assured me, that he would not for a long time attempt any thing

thing considerable against La-Fere; and that some time or other he would permit me to make a journey thither. In reality I did so several times, but had no sooner arrived, than the necessity of providing for the subsistence of his troops obliged me to return again immediately. I comforted myself, however, with the thought, that through my diligence the army being supplied with every thing it had occasion for, I might flatter myself with having, in some measure, contributed to the success of this siege, which lasted six months, and was the longest that Henry was ever engaged in. This place, besides its advantageous fortifications, had a very numerous garrison, composed of chosen soldiers, and commanded by two excellent officers, the one a Frenchman*, high steward to Montelimart; and the other a Spaniard, named Olorio.

BERINGHEN †, at the persuasions of an engineer who was his friend and kinsman, and had come expressly for that purpose from Flanders, where he had lived, took it into his head that it was possible to lay all La-Fere under water; and, upon the assurances of his friend, was so confident of success, that the king, though contrary to his own judgment, suffered him to make the attempt: it would indeed have shortened the siege; but it is to be observed, that almost all projects of this kind are liable to fail: the slightest mistake is sufficient to ruin them, and it seldom happens but some mistake is made. The project of turning the course of the Tesin formerly cost Francis I. the loss of a battle, together with his liberty. In one of these journies I made to the camp, I found this proposal upon the carpet. I looked upon the execution of it to be impossible, and I combated it with all my force: but the engineer wanted not plausible reasons to oppose to ours. Ac-

* His name was Colas; the Spaniards had promised to make him count de La-Fere.

† Peter de Beringhen was himself a Fleming, and born at Brussels.

According to him, it was an attempt that would cost but little time and trouble; all they had to do was to raise a causey: this they performed; and the water destroying their work two or three times, they renewed it as often; at last it became proof against the water, but the river did not rise to the height they expected: it is true, indeed, that it wanted only six feet, but that was sufficient to force them to abandon the work §, after having consumed in it a great deal of time and money.

THE king falling sick at Traverfy, where his head-quarters were, the siege of La-Fere suffered a still longer delay. As soon as the news was brought me I flew to him, and never left him till his health was perfectly re-established. His sickness was considerable enough to make me apprehend for France the greatest loss it could possibly sustain. The governor of La-Fere, finding himself in want of every thing that could enable him to hold out a longer time, surrendered the place to the king, who caused it to be repaired; and at the intreaty of madam de Liancourt, he appointed her son Cæsar to be governor of it, Manicamp, a kinsman * of this lady, performing all the functions of that office, in quality of his lieutenant.

His majesty marching afterwards to the frontiers of Artois, took the castle of Imbercourt by assault; and thought to have done the same, by petard, with the city of Arras. Marechal Biron † was the cause of the ill success of this last enterprize, by not providing himself with a sufficient quantity of

§ D'Aubigné does not speak of it so contemptibly, ch. 12. *ibid.* "The causey," says he, "having made the river Oise flow back within La-Fere, it spoiled all the magazines they had in the lower parts and cellars of the town. It was a large machine, above a quarter of a league in length. Such an undertaking shews, that neither the king nor the kingdom was dispirited under these pressures and disadvantages."

* Philip de Longueval, sieur de Manicamp.

† Biron, in his turn, loudly exclaimed against the king's avarice,

petards: the three first they applied played tolerably well, but the fourth being thrown, without effect, into the ditch, with the person that directed it, several of our men were killed and wounded by it. It was, indeed, a mortifying thought that a conquest of such importance, which would have secured Amiens from the misfortune which soon after happened to it, should be lost for want of a petard or two more. Biron, to avoid the reproaches he had reason to expect, got out of the way, and went to discharge his rage upon the country about Bapaume, where he made a horrible devastation.

THE ill success of the attempt upon Arras was sufficiently compensated by many favourable events that happened at the end of the preceding year and the beginning of this, which I shall pass over slightly as usual; these were the reduction of Toulouse †, the prosperity of the king's arms in Provence, and the reunion of the chiefs of the league in the king's party. Joyeuse ‖, who had quitted the habit of a monk, to resume that of a soldier, and paid himself with usury for the mortifications of a cloisterer, made a treaty with the king about that time. The duke of Nemours § followed his example; but just as it was upon the point of being concluded, he died ‡ with vexation, as some believe, for the bad success of so many great projects. Saint-Sorlin, his brother, continued the treaty for himself. The death of the duke of Nevers † delivered the king likewise from

† As to these facts, consult the histories before mentioned for the years 1595 and 1596.

‖ Henry de Joyeuse. He again entered himself among the capuchins, and died there, under the name of father Ange.

§ Henry de Savoie-Nemours.

‡ "He voided, by his mouth and pores, every drop of blood in his body." Prefixe, *ibid.* Cayet gives a very moving description of it, *ibid.* p. 519.

† Louis de Gonzague died of a dysentery at Nefse in 1595, aged fifty-six: of chagrin, says others, because that when he talked with Henry IV. advising him with regard to Calais, this prince
made

a troublesome uselefs servant. Lastly, the duke of Maienne, now absolutely disgusted with the treachery of the Spaniards, began to think seriously upon means to restore himself to the favour of the king.

THE king thought it of such importance to make himself master of Arras, that he resolved to besiege it in form. I was the only person to whom he communicated this design; secrecy was of such consequence on this great occasion, that he durst not trust any one with the care of making observations upon the place, and therefore undertook that task himself. I had continued the whole winter at Paris, employed in his majesty's service, and sometimes made little excursions to Moret, in which I took great delight. One day, when I was busy in overseeing my workmen, who were levelling the high grounds about two thousand paces from my house, to bring thither two rivulets which form those two sheets of water which are at present near the great

made answer, "How can you advise me on this head? you who have never been nigher that town than seven leagues." Tho' M. de Thou, liv. cxiii. and Brantome, tom. III. p. 259. very much extol him, the charge which the duke de Sully brings against him, of having been always a very expensive servant to his master, may be easily made out, even from this general's own letters to Henry IV. of which we have a collection in de Nevers's Memoirs, tom. II. p. 237, 376. "If your majesty," says he to him in one of his letters, "cannot or will not come this length, I shall remove so far, that there will be no grounds to expect any succours from me. In truth, sire, you do not make me returns suitable to the manner in which I serve you; and it appears to all the world that you do not value me much.--I never was treated in the manner you treat me by the kings your predecessors; from them I received many favours, whereby I was obliged to serve them implicitly; and I am yet to receive the first favour from your majesty. If fatal and ruinous commissions be not the favours I receive from you, I will be so free as to tell you, that I have received no other since you were pleased to order me into these parts," &c. p. 343. And there are a great many more letters in the same strain. It is from these the duke of Sully, to whom Henry IV. communicated all his cabinet secrets, formed a judgment as to the dispositions of the duke de Nevers, and not from those he writ to several other persons, which shew great attachment and zeal for the king's person.

alley, a courier from madam de Liancourt arrived, who brought me a letter from this lady, and another from his majesty, in which he informed me of his designs upon Arras, and the methods by which he hoped to succeed. I had never seen this prince in so great a rage as by this letter he appeared to be in, against the “impositions and rogueries (these were his words) of eight gluttons;” who were given him, he said, instead of one that he had before: “those rascals,” added he, “with that prodigious number of intendants, who have brought in all their male and female gossips, feast together, and have consumed above a hundred thousand crowns, a sum large enough to drive all the Spaniards out of France.” This was, indeed, exactly true, which I shall make sufficiently clear when I enter into an account of the finances; at present I shall only relate two or three circumstances.

THE council of the finances supposed, that in order to furnish the supplies for the siege of La-Fere, they should be called upon to clear their accounts: in this, however, they were mistaken, the king having put the superintendency of the siege wholly into my hands. These supplies Descures, la Corbiniere, and some other contractors, with whom the financiers lived in such intelligence, that they made use occasionally of their names, without admitting them to more than very small shares, were engaged to procure. They then treated, under these borrowed names, with tradesmen and purveyors, who commonly served them at the lowest prices, and contrived to charge to the king thrice the real expence.

THE following fact I had from the king himself. Very considerable arrears were due from the royal treasury to the Swiss soldiers, German horse, and other foreigners in the French pay. The council suborned a man, named Otoplote, who gave the receivers deputed by these foreigners to understand, that they must never expect to be paid, unless they

consented to reduce their demands to such a moderate sum as could be given them, without draining the exchequer. The reduction was agreed to; but the gentlemen of the council charged the whole sum to the king's account, and by this means robbed his majesty, or rather the lawful creditors, of the overplus.

To this many other frauds of the same kind may be added. These gentlemen revelled in luxury, while the king and his household wanted necessaries. A few days after that on which his majesty wrote to me, he sent to inform them that he had occasion for eight hundred thousand crowns, for an enterprize of great importance (the siege of Arras); he intreated, he conjured them to let him have this sum, but in vain; all the answer he could get was, that so far from being able to furnish him with what he demanded, they knew not how to supply the expences of his household. It is, indeed, curious to see how this household was supported. "I am," says this amiable and worthy prince, in a letter to me, "very near my enemies, and hardly a horse to carry me into the battle, nor a complete suit of armour to put on; my shirts are all ragged, my doublets * out at elbow, my kettle is seldom on the fire, and these two last days I have been obliged to dine where I could, for my purveyors have informed me, that they have not wherewithal to furnish my table." Those belonging to the gentlemen of the council were better provided. Henry, in his letter, deplored these monstrous abuses, less on his own account than on his people's, whom he said he looked upon as his children, since heaven had given him no others, and proposed to me the design of assembling the states of the kingdom, to consider of a remedy for all these misdemeanors.

* "I have seen upon him," says le Grain, liv. viii. "a coat of plain white cloth, that was very much soiled by his breast-plate, and torn in the sleeves; as also stockings that were very much worn and holed through on the sword side."

I OBEYED the order the king gave me to burn his letter, but not till I had taken a copy of it; and the reasons for keeping it secret, no longer subsisting, I think it my duty to publish the contents, as a proof of the wisdom and goodness of this prince: his majesty concluded his letter with ordering me to come to him in Picardy, and to conduct his mistress thither. We were the only persons to whom he could disclose his thoughts with freedom. The letter from madam de Liancourt was very short; in it she informed me, that she would set out the Tuesday following, in order to reach Maubuisson on Wednesday, where she had a sister, who was abbess †, and that she would wait for me there.

I ARRIVED at Corbeil on Saturday evening, intending to pass part of Sunday and all Monday at Paris, having some purchases to make for the palace. Just as I entered the street de la Coutellerie, I met a messenger from madam de Liancourt, who acquainted me, that that lady having received fresh letters from the king, and also an account that her sister, the abbess of Maubuisson, was ill, she had determined to set out before the day appointed, and that I might join her at Pontoise. I suspected this lady had an intention to make her court to the king at the expence of my dilatoriness; I therefore altered my resolution, and told my people, that I would go that same night to Maubuisson, without stopping at Paris but only while I refreshed myself and baited my horses, which I did at the first inn I came to, whose design was the three pigeons. The mention of this inn recalls to my remembrance a comical adventure which happened to me there.

ENTERING, without any attendants, into a very large chamber, I found a man walking about it very fast, and so absorbed in thought, that he neither saluted me, nor, as I imagine, perceived my entrance.

† Angelica d'Estrées.

Looking at him with more attention, every thing in his person, his manner, his countenance, and dress, appeared to me very uncommon, his body was long and slender, his face thin and withered, his beard white and forked; he had a large hat on his head that covered his face, a cloak buttoned close at the collar, boots of an enormous size, a sword that trailed on the ground, and in his hand a large double bag, like those that are tied to saddle-bows. I asked him, in a raised tone of voice, if he lodged in that chamber, and why he seemed in such a profound contemplation? My man, affronted at the question, without saluting, or even deigning to look at me, answered me rudely, that he was in his own chamber, and that he was thinking of his affairs, as I might do of mine. Although I was a little surprized at his impertinence, I nevertheless desired him very civilly to permit me to dine in that chamber; a proposal which he received grumbling, and was followed by a refusal still less polite. That moment three of my gentlemen, my pages, and some footmen, entering the room, my brutal companion thought fit to soften his looks and words, pulled off his hat, and offered me every thing in his power: then suddenly, eyeing me with a fixed regard, asked me, with a wild air, where I was going? I told him to meet the king: "What, sir," he replied, "has the king sent for you? Pray tell me on what day and hour you received his letters, and also at what hour you set out?"

It was not difficult to discover an astrologer by these questions, which he asked me with an invincible gravity. I was farther obliged to tell him my age, and to allow him to look into my hands. After all these ceremonies were over, "Sir;" said he, with a air of surprize and respect, "I will resign my chamber to you very willingly, and before it be long, many more persons will quit their places to you with more regret than I

" do.

“do mine.” The more I pretended to be astonished at his great abilities, the more he endeavoured to give me proofs of them; he promised me riches, honours, and power (astrologers are seldom niggards) and added, that if I would inform him of the hour of my birth, he would tell me all that had or ever would happen to me; but without desiring to know my name, or telling me his, he thought proper, after these words, to leave me precipitately, excusing himself for not staying longer with me, upon the necessity he was under to carry some papers immediately to his advocate and procurator. I made no efforts to detain; but it was not the same with my people, whom I perceived to be seized with fear and respect at every word this madman uttered. I diverted my wife with an account of this little adventure in the first letter I wrote to her.

IN the evening I arrived at Maubuiffon, which serves for a suburb to Pontoise: there I met madam de Liancourt, with whom I took the road next day to Clermont. I rode about seven or eight hundred paces before the litter in which this lady was, and which was followed at some distance by a great unwieldy coach that carried her women; before and behind this coach marched several mules loaded with baggage. About a league from Clermont, where the road was very narrow, a steep hill on one side, and a hanging valley on the other, leaving only room enough for two carriages to go a-breast; the coachman alighting upon some occasion or other, one of the mules passing near the side of the coach, after it stopped, by its neighing, and the sound of its bells, so terrified the horses, which unfortunately happened to be young and skittish, that, taking the bit between their teeth, they drew the coach along with such rapidity, that meeting with two other mules, they overturned them in their course. The women within, seeing a thousand abysses opened under their feet, apprehended their danger, and set forth most lamentable

mentable cries: The coachman and muleteers endeavoured in vain to stop the horses: they were already within fifty paces of the litter, when madam Liancourt, alarmed by the noise, looked out, and screamed aloud; I also turned back, and trembling at the danger in which I saw this lady and her attendants, without being able to assist them on account of the distance I was at, " Ah! friend," said I to La-Font, " the women will be dashed in pieces, " what will become of us? and what will the king " say?" While I was thus speaking, I pushed my horse forwards with all my strength; but this was useless, and I should have arrived too late.

By one of these lucky chances, and which almost amount to a miracle, when the danger was greatest, the axle-tree of the little wheels coming out of the nave by a violent shock which broke the pegs, the two wheels fell on each side, and the coach to the ground, and there stopped; one of the hindmost horses was thrown down by the shock, and kept in the other; the fore horses broke their traces, and passed so close to the litter, which was already at the extremity of the precipice, that it is plain if they had drawn the coach along with it, it would have been thrown over it. I stopped them and gave them to my domestics to hold, after which I flew to relieve madam de Liancourt, who was half dead with fear. I went next to the coach, and assisted the women to get out of it: they were for having the coachman hanged, and I was complaisant enough to give him two or three strokes with my cane. At length their terrors being entirely dissipated, and the carriage refitted, we resumed our journey; and till we arrived at Clermont I continued to ride close to madam de Liancourt's litter.

THE king had set out for this place to meet his mistress, and arrived there a quarter of an hour after us. I did not fail to inform him immediately of what had happened; and while I was relating this adven-

adventure, I observed him attentively, and saw him turn pale and tremble. By these emotions, which I never perceived in him in the greatest dangers, it was easy to guess the violence of his passion for this lady.

THE first moments were given to tenderness; after which the king consulted with me concerning the state of his affairs. That which was of most consequence at present, was the advice he had just received, by a letter from Rouen, that the duke of Montpensier, engaged more strictly than ever with the factious courtiers, had formed a very dangerous design against his royal person (this design was not explained); and that he was endeavouring by all sorts of methods, to gain himself dependents. The king was so much the more afflicted at this news, as he really loved the duke of Montpensier; and since policy hindered him from marrying his sister to the count of Soissons, or any of the princes of Lorraine, he was accustomed to look upon this prince as his future brother-in-law. He insisted that all other business being postponed for this, I should go immediately to Rouen, and there either prevail upon the duke of Montpensier to return to his duty, or disconcert all his projects.

I STAYED six days at Rouen, and during that time I had sufficient reason to be convinced that the imputations against this prince were absolutely false, and an artifice of those who sought to throw the government into confusion. The duke of Montpensier, whose sentiments were very different from those they accused him of, suffered nothing to appear either in his actions or discourse, but what proved a strict attachment to the king. Those persons with whom he had had the closest connexions, durst not in his presence avow any principle contrary to his, and had no hope of ever gaining him. One day when he did me the honour to invite me to dine with him, he talked to me of his resolution to continue inviolable in his duty to the king, with a candour and freedom which those who knew him are sensible
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he would not have been capable of had he been conscious of any secret guilt ; and although he did not seek to justify himself, yet innocence carries along with it certain silent proofs, which cannot be resisted. He embraced me several times as a man who was dear to him by being faithfully devoted to the king ; and on that account promised me his friendship, of which I have since had many instances. I mentioned to him his marriage with the princess Catherine, as an affair in which the king was as solicitous for his success as he could be. He confessed to me that he had never desired any thing with so much ardour as the possession of this princess, but that he durst not flatter himself with a hope of obtaining her, since he had not qualities, he said, capable of gaining her heart, or of subduing the ascendant the count of Soissons had over him. I remained entirely satisfied with the duke of Montpensier's sentiments, and resolved to give a good account of them to the king. The remainder of the time I staid at Rouen I employed in renewing my former friendships with several persons, among whom were the first president de Boquemare, messieurs de Lanquetot, de Gremonville, de Bourgtheroulde, de Berniere, all members of the parliament ; the abbots de Tiron, and Martinbault ; the sieurs de Motteville, des Hameaux, de Mesnil, captain of the old palace ; de la Haulle, de Menencourt du Mesnilbasil, and others, by whom I was treated, and whom I treated in my turn. I lodged with la Pile, one of my particular friends.

I FOUND the king still at Amiens †, where a few days after arrived deputies from the principal cities of Provence, and Languedoc, whose compliments and harangues his majesty received with his accustomed goodness. The deputy from Marseilles

† The deputies of the town of Amiens speaking to him, in their address, of Henry III's goodness. " Yes," says he to them, " he was a good prince, but he was afraid of you ; and for my part I neither fear nor love you." *Le Grain Decade d'Henry le Grand, liv. x.*

was heard with most pleasure, as he spoke for a city so ancient, and at all times so faithful to its sovereigns.

THE king being not only undeceived by my report of the duke of Montpensier, but also more than ever convinced of his affection, resolved to make one effort more in his favour; and unfortunately I was the person whom he fixed upon to discharge this new commission. Having sent for me one night to his bedside, he told me, that under a pretence of visiting the princess Catherine, I must go and endeavour to prevail upon her to give the duke of Montpensier that place in her heart which the count of Soissons*, notwithstanding the sacrifice of the marriage contract, still possessed. After what had happened to me at Chartres upon this occasion, I thought it rashness to embark in an affair in which it was impossible to succeed. I conjured the king not to expose me, by this new attempt, to the eternal hatred of this princess, and the count. My intreaties, pressing as they were, had no effect: he answered me only with the proverb, *a good master, a bold servant*; and I had nothing for it but obedience.

My last resource was to demand my commission in writing, that it might secure me against the fate of many courtiers, who had been disgraced for acting with blind obedience to their master, against persons of that rank; and besides a letter of compliment to the princess, I required a second, in which he should deduce the motives of my journey, the nature of his orders, and the manner, and arguments by which he desired I should enforce them. When I made this proposal, the king, always tenacious of what concerned his honour, replied that his greatest enemies never demanded more security than his word. I answered by assuring him that I would never make use of it but at the last extremity; and that if the

* She used to say to such as spoke to her on the king's part: "Above all things, I will have my count." Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 628.

princess should appear disposed to comply with his desires, provided I could convince her that I acted solely by his authority, this writing would then be necessary. The king yielded to this last argument; and being furnished with this authentic piece, I took the road to Fontainebleau, where the princess then was, extremely perplexed with the part I had undertaken.

I STAYED only a day at Paris, from whence I went to the princess, who expected me with impatience, the king having informed her some days before by Loménie of my intended journey, without explaining the occasion of it. She had flattered herself (for love, if it fears all, hopes all likewise) that I might possibly be come to make the count of Soissons happy; and this thought made me happy also, as long as it lasted, which was the two first days; for those I thought necessary to give to civility and compliments. She altered her behaviour on the third, when she found that I only introduced the subject of her love to declare to her that the count of Soissons had, by his imprudent conduct, incensed the king to such a degree, that she ought no longer to think of making him her husband: for I judged it proper to begin by removing one, before I endeavoured to introduce the other.

ALTHOUGH, in speaking of the count of Soissons, I made use of the gentlest terms my imagination could furnish me with, he had in the princess so ardent a defender, that in her answer she intermingled the harshest epithets, and menaces of depriving me of the king's favour. Astonished at a rage so sudden and violent, I thought of nothing but appeasing her, otherwise my commission would have that moment been at an end. I therefore intreated her to hear me, and began a tedious speech; of which I knew not myself the end: and first I introduced a long and eloquent protestation of my respect, attachment, and earnest desire to serve her; during which I racked my

my imagination in vain, to furnish me with the means of calming her mind, since what it was most necessary she should hear, namely the count of Soissons' insolent behaviour to the king, was precisely that which would enrage her the most. I ventured however to break through this difficulty, and conjured her to reflect seriously whether this prince had, by his whole conduct, deserved that the king should be solicitous to raise his fortune. It was the hope only that a discourse, whose beginning was so disagreeable, would end in a manner favourable to her passion, that obliged the princess to give any attention to me; which I judged by those emotions of anger and disdain which overspread her face alternately with blushes and paleness.

I CONTINUED to lay before her, with all the moderation imaginable, the many causes of ill-will which the count had given the king, particularly his behaviour in Burgundy, certainly inexcusable even in the eyes of a mistress. I used however the precaution to repeat frequently, that, for my own part, I believed the count to be very distant from those sentiments which his conduct gave room to attribute to him: I dwelt upon the consequences it must unavoidably have, at a time when a process was actually commenced against the princess of Condé, by which the prince her son, still a huguenot, lived uncertain of his state, in a kind of banishment at Rochelle. This affair being of the number of those in which justice alone was not sufficient, the friends of the young prince would have found it difficult to have scattered those accusations against the mother, and secured to the son his rank of first prince of the blood and presumptive heir to the crown, if the king, by suppressing the instruments of the process, as he did at last, had not interested himself in the justification of the one, and the defence of the other. I made the princess sensible that the count was master of his own fate, but that he made so bad an use of the king's

favourable dispositions towards him, that he would infallibly oblige him to engage in the interests of his rival. In short, I said enough to have made any other think he was greatly to be blamed.

THE princess, who during this discourse, had fallen into a reverie, occasioned more by vexation than prudent reflections, interrupted me here, to hasten to that conclusion which I had given her a favourable hint of, and which seemed farther off in proportion as I lengthened my speech. But having once begun, she was not sufficiently mistress of herself to stop where she intended; and giving way to the rage that filled her heart, she fell upon me a second time, who, she said, only sought to deceive her, and upon the king her brother, "who loves me so much," said she ironically, "that he cannot resolve to get rid of me;" and as a proof entered into a long enumeration of her lovers; amongst whom it would have been easy to prove that she had missed of an establishment through her own fault, as when she refused the king of Scotland. In the course of her complaints she neither spared the queen her mother, nor king Henry the third, who, she said, had all conspired to keep her single. Her stock of rancour being almost exhausted by so many invectives, the softer passion took its place, and naturally turned her thoughts on the count of Soissons; a subject which she treated not less amply, but in a manner very different from the former.

AT length, recollecting that her design by interrupting me was to hear that advice by which, I told her, all past errors might be repaired, she asked me positively what that advice was, but with the same tone of malignant raillery; by which I was still better convinced that her mind was irritated beyond the power of human eloquence to cure: but pressed by the question, I replied, "By the count of Soissons' doing the very contrary of what he has hitherto done." The observations I made while I pronounced

nounced these few words, were sufficient to persuade me, that it would be to no purpose to propose the duke of Montpensier to her; I therefore looked upon my commission to be at an end, or rather absolutely useless, and all I aimed at now was to draw myself out of this embarrassment by expressions so vague and general, that the princess might not take any advantage of me, nor afterwards maintain that I had failed in my promise to her. Nothing is more easy than this kind of discourse. I entered at first upon the necessary duties of crowned heads, and expatiated long upon the subject; from whence, however, I drew no other inference, but that the king could not be reproached with any failure of his. This introduced another set discourse, divided into several parts, wherein Henry's gentleness of disposition was not slightly discussed; and to conclude by something still clearer, since the princess, contrary to my expectations, had patience enough to listen to so tedious an harangue, I assured her, in a few words, that Henry's temper was such, that I was confident he would be easily prevailed upon to consent to every thing that was reasonable.

THE princess, surprized at so precipitate a conclusion, asked me, indeed with some appearance of reason, if I had nothing more to say to her; for it is certain, that I had gone a great way about to little purpose: I replied, that I had still a great many things to add. This long conversation having lasted till night, I depended upon having wearied the princess so much, that she would take an absolute leave of me; but I was mistaken; she gave me only till the next day to satisfy her demands, and left me with a sullen and malignant air, accompanied with a glance, and some interjections, which I heard as I went out, upon the part I had played at Chartres; from whence I drew a very unfavourable presage.

I SHOULD have been the most presumptuous of all men, if, after this, could have flattered myself with

being able to bring her to the point we desired. Indeed I was so far from entertaining such a thought, that I should have been rejoiced, if the princess, in quitting me, had commanded me never to appear before her again. I went however to wait upon her at the appointed hour, which was after she had dined. She had repaired to her cabinet earlier than usual, and continued there shut up conferring with the ladies de Rohan, de la Guiche, de la Barre, and de Neufvy, from none of whom I had the least reason to expect any good offices. I waited in her chamber, talking to the ladies de Gratains, and Pangeac, and two other young ladies, who were as much inclined to favour me as the others to do the contrary. I told them, that I should not have been sorry, if they had been in the princess's cabinet instead of those ladies that were then with her, who, I was persuaded, were that very moment giving her very bad advice. They told me I ought not to imagine so, but in a tone that confirmed me in my opinion.

It was an hour at least, before the princess came out; she had been all this time preparing herself, and, perceiving me, told me that she was going to give me her answer; the purport of which it was not difficult to guess, by the cold yet contemptuous air with which she pronounced those words. I followed her, in great uneasiness; but she spared me the pain of speaking first, by telling me that she acquitted me of all I had promised to inform her of, and that now I had nothing to do but to hear her in my turn: then assuming an air still more haughty and contemptuous, she treated me in the presence of all those witnesses (I am obliged to confess it) like the basest of men, who, she said, took upon myself the character of a person of importance, and an able politician, while, in reality, I was a vile and infamous parasite, who had endeavoured to extort from her own mouth a confession of faults, which neither she nor the count had ever been guilty of, to make
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my court to the king, who was himself ashamed of the part I had acted. The princess could not here avoid falling into the female fault of betraying, by an exuberance of words, the reserve she had resolved to maintain. Something which I had said the evening before, relating to her conduct and that of the count of Soissons in Bearn, occurring to her memory, she entered into an unseasonable justification of it. Pangeac was called a great loggerhead, who had not yet received his deserts; my comment upon the duties of kings was found highly unbecoming: then recalling herself from this rambling strain, she told me, that to close all with a few words, and to hinder me from boasting of my commission, she gave me to understand, that I was rash and imprudent to the last degree, to concern myself with the affairs of a person so far above me; I, that was only a private gentleman, whose highest honour it had been to be brought up in her family, and who, as well as all my relations, had subsisted only upon the bounty of the prince of Navarre; that the fate of all those who, like me, ungrateful for past benefits, durst presume to interfere betwixt persons so nearly united, was to be sacrificed sooner or later, without the honour of having my interposition known to be the cause. From a woman these expressions might be endured, but, as the princess was well assured that no man whatever, not even the count of Soissons, although a prince of the blood, durst treat me in the same manner, she added, as the highest affront she could think of, that all she had said was in the count's name as well as her own. The conclusion of this speech was of a piece with all the rest: she threatened, with an excess of rage, to ruin me for ever with the king, by a single word, and forbad me, for the future, to appear in any place where she was.

I do not believe any distinction of rank or sex can authorize the use of terms so outrageous: certainly it cannot be vanity in me to repeat them; but, as

the princess added endeavours to words, and obliged me to take measures for my own defence, in which, for the first time, I waved that submission which I owed to a princess, the sister of my king, I cannot better prove the necessity I was under to take those steps, than by faithfully relating those conversations, and even the very words that were made use of. Although my pride suffered greatly by this shameful treatment, I had discretion and even policy enough, not to suffer it to appear; I say policy, for had my countenance expressed the least emotion, or my reply the least bitterness, the princess, without hearing me, would have left me in a triumph that it was necessary I should lessen before those persons who either took part in or were witnesses of it.

I BEGAN therefore with the false timidity of a man who is solicitous to disculpate himself; and that I might engage the princess to hear all I had to say, I told her that I was very much grieved, to find that the prejudices she had conceived made her discover a meaning in my words that I had no intention to give them, and had drawn upon me a treatment I could not possibly deserve; that it was easy for me to convince her how little I merited those reproaches she had cast upon me; and to begin with the count of Soissons, she knew that in all I had said relating to him, I had added that, for my own part, I was absolutely convinced of the rectitude of his intentions. By this introduction, I stopped the princess, who supposed she should soon have the pleasure to see me imploring pardon at her feet.

I WENT ON with the same composure to tell her, that to remove the displeasure she seemed to entertain, that a private gentleman, and one unworthy to approach her, should be sent to treat with her; I begged leave to remind her, that although, by the prodigality of my ancestors, I was neither possessed of the estate nor dignities to which I had a claim, yet, however, more than a hundred thousand crowns had
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been carried by the daughters of my family, into the houses of Bourbon and Austria †; and that, far from being a charge to the king since I had been in his service, his majesty had sometimes given me the pleasure to see him have recourse to me in his necessities. I acknowledged, however, that nothing could justify my having exceeded his orders, if I had really been capable of doing so. That moment, taking another paper of the king's out of my pocket, addressed to the princess, in form of a letter, I took the advantage of the astonishment into which I had cast her, to tell her, that to finish my message before I quitted her for ever, I declared to her, as her servant, that his majesty holding the place of her father, and being likewise her master and her king, she had no other part to take than submission to his will; that without listening to any thing the count of Soissons could suggest, she must resolve either to accept of a husband from the king her brother, or incur the loss of his favour; that in this last case, it would be a very sensible mortification to her, after having held the rank of a queen, to see herself reduced to a very inconsiderable fortune, since she was not ignorant, that besides the presents the king had bestowed, in the resignation he had made her of those estates she at present enjoyed, he had consulted rather the dictates of his own heart than the laws and customs of Navarre, which would have appointed a very small provision for her.

THESE last words drew the princess, in spite of herself, out of that scornful insensibility she had affected to shew, to enter into the greatest transport of rage that any woman could be capable of. After giving vent to all that anger could inspire, she went furiously into her cabinet; and I withdrew, with great composure, towards the staircase, whither madam de Neufvy came running after me, to tell

† I refer the reader to the explanation I have given in the beginning of these Memoirs, about the alliances of the house of Bethune.

me, that the princess had sent her to demand the letter I had shewn her. This was a new stratagem of those four ladies, who had persuaded the princess, that she would ruin me more effectually with the king, if she could make it appear that I had sacrificed his majesty's letter. I perceived the snare that was laid for me, and I replied to madam de Neufvy, that I was surprized the princess, after having refused to hear the contents of the letter, should send immediately to demand it. I added, that I would communicate it only to the princess, and read it to her, having occasion for it myself. This was not what the messenger wanted, and she returned without making me any answer.

I WENT that evening to Moret, where my wife then was, and staying with her only one day, set out the next for Paris, to meet my courier, whom I had sent from Fontainebleau with dispatches to the king. But I was greatly surprized when, instead of him, I saw young Boësse, the princess's steward of the household, arrive with a letter, at which I was still more surprized, when I saw it was from the king. I knew that Boësse was the person whom she sent with her dispatches to his majesty. I found that this letter had been sent open to the princess, and had not been transmitted to me till it had passed through her hands, and that she had sealed it with her own seal: all these circumstances left me no room to doubt of my misfortune, which by a sad foreboding in my mind was still more confirmed, and I opened the letter trembling. My fears were but too just; instead of praises, and those expressions of esteem and confidence with which the king's letters to me were generally filled, my eyes were struck with a severe command to make the princess satisfaction. His majesty "could not suffer (these were his words) " that one of his subjects should affront a princess, " and his sister, without punishing him immediately " for his fault, if he did not repair it by submission."

I WAS overwhelmed, I confess, with this unexpected blow, and so much the more, as, having no reason to imagine that the king had not received my letter, I saw that it was after he had read it that I was thus treated. What reflections did I not then make upon the misfortune of being employed in settling the differences of persons of such rank, and the danger of serving kings. I had nothing to reproach myself with, in regard to Henry; I had served him four and twenty years with an unwearied assiduity, and a zeal that nothing could allay: it was with reluctance that I accepted this last disagreeable commission: the writing which I had obtained of the king contained many things much more severe than any I had said to the princess; and I had suppressed them at a time when it would, perhaps, have been excusable to have aggravated them. My guilt was, at most, a too faithful obedience; yet his majesty sacrificed me cruelly, without any regard to my reasons, or his own express commands. I was sensibly affected with this injustice, and all my thoughts ran upon forming strong resolutions to quit the court for ever.

BUT scarce had I taken these resolutions when a thousand motives concurred to make me change them. Henry, as I had already often proved, had acquired such an empire over my will, that after repeated oaths on my side to quit him, a single word from him has drawn me to him as it were by enchantment. To this was added the consideration of my own interest: by listening to my resentment I was exposing myself to lose the rewards of my long services, when I was just upon the point of obtaining them, and at a time when, being disinherited by the viscount de Gand, I lost an estate of fifty thousand livres a year; exhausted by a long and painful service, having a house to establish, and menaced with a numerous family by the fertility of my wife, these expected rewards were all my resource, and the only foundation I had to build upon. But, on the other

sive, how could I endure to suffer, like a criminal, the haughty and contemptuous behaviour of a princess, with whom I had just before maintained a character so different, and who would make this cup as bitter for me as she was able? The agitation and grief of my mind may be easily imagined.

I AT length took the most prudent part I could, but it was far from suspending the uneasiness that preyed upon my spirits; I feigned sickness, and the deep melancholy with which I was seized, was in reality capable of communicating to my body part of the disorder of my mind. I discovered to no person whatever the cause of my grief, but sent for a physician, who making me tremble for the consequences of a disease entirely of my own framing, promised, however, to restore me to health by the force of bleeding and purges.

AT four o'clock in the afternoon another physician arrived, for whom the cure of my distemper was reserved; this was Picaut, my courier, whom I had waited for impatiently, to take, upon the accounts he should bring me, my last resolutions. After informing me that he had had the misfortune to strain his ankle, which was the cause that the princess's courier came to the king before him, he presented me with a letter, in this prince's own hand-writing, which removed all my complaints: Henry told me in it, that I had reason to be offended with the contents of his former letter, which he had written in one of those sudden transports that I knew were natural to him, and upon exaggerated complaints, joined to the instances and importunities of his sister; but that to calm my uneasiness, he assured me he would disavow nothing I had said, in which, if he failed, he would permit me to make use of his own letter against him: he concluded with these words, "Come to
 " me, that you may inform me more particularly of
 " all that has passed, and depend upon being as well
 " received by me as you have ever been, let who
 " will be angry at it. Adieu, my friend."

IN this kind familiarity I knew again my old master. This letter was dated the 17th of May, and the first the 15th, and both from Amiens, for which place I set out very early in the morning, and arrived there the next day. I neither suppressed nor palliated any part of what had been said or done at Fontainebleau between the princess and me; and his majesty, by repeated expressions of friendship and esteem for me, shewed that he approved of my whole conduct.

THAT I may not too often interrupt the course of my history by a recital which is equally proper every where, I shall finish in a few words, all that concerns this affair. La Varenne, who was employed by the princess to take care of her interests at the court, did not fail to inform her of the good reception the king gave me, and the report that was every where spread, that the finances would be wholly confided to my care. The princess comprehended, by this news, that it was now necessary not only to renounce her vengeance, but also to be upon good terms, for the future, with a man from whose hands henceforwards all the appointments for the support of her household would proceed. Whether she was convinced that she herself was wrong, or still imputed the blame to me, she had the generosity to pardon me: and I must confess, to the honour of the princess, that in this she shewed a greatness of soul of which few persons could have been capable. If in those qualities which marked the character of this princess, we except an excess of vivacity which it was not in her power to restrain, and to which, in the affair above-mentioned, was added the force of the most impetuous of all passions, her disposition will be found naturally good and easy, capable even of the refinements of friendship; and the warmth of gratitude.

SHE communicated this alteration of her sentiments with regard to me to madam de Pangeac, one of my friends; and even made the first advances to

madam de Rosny. I had left her in child-bed at Moret. When her health was perfectly re-established, she went one day to church at Fontainebleau, and returned without waiting upon the princess, under pretence of a slight indisposition which confined her to her bed. Madam de Pangeac making her some reproaches, as if from herself, but in reality by the princess's orders, my wife found herself obliged to tell her, that the terms I was upon with the princess made it impossible for her to do herself that honour. At a second journey which madam de Rosny made to Fontainebleau, the princess caused her to be told, that the reasons she had given madam de Pangeac ought not to prevent her coming to see her. Accordingly, my wife waited upon her, and had a most gracious reception. She confessed to her sincerely, that she was not yet entirely satisfied with my conduct, as she thought she had reason to expect a very different one, considering those instances of friendship which I had received from her in my youth: she mentioned several parties of pleasure at Pau, or at M. de Moissens' *, where she had done me the honour to take me with her, particularly that when running at the ring I gained the prize, which was a jewel of small value, and was going to receive it from her hand, she changed the jewel, and gave me one in its stead worth two thousand crowns. She did not forget to mention, that my father had often carried the queen, her mother, in his arms. After all this, the princess very obligingly told my wife, that her resentment against me had never extended to her, whose disposition she loved. She said a thousand obliging things of M. de Saint-Martin, my wife's uncle, who had been first gentleman of the bedchamber to the king; and of madam de Saint-Martin, the sister of M. de Moissens, and consequently a near relation of her own.

* Henry d'Albret, baron de Moissens.

MADAM de Rosny left her extremely well satisfied, and fully determined to use her utmost endeavours to restore me to her favour. She made no attempts this first visit, but afterwards, observing to the princess the attention I shewed in settling the assignments for the payment of the officers of her household; and representing to her, that it was by repeated orders from his majesty that I had subdued the reluctance I had to accept of that commission which had offended her, madam de la Force, who was then at the princess's toilet, joined my wife; and what surprized me greatly, being supported by the ladies de Rohan and de la Barre, they prevailed upon her to send for me that moment. From the time that the princess was convinced of my innocence, she had so great a degree of friendship for me as to confide all her secrets to me alone: she proposed and promoted with all her interest the marriage of my eldest daughter with the duke of Rohan, her nearest relation † on the side of the deceased queen her mother, and the heir of her estate in Navarre. The king did not then approve of this match, though he did afterwards. And lastly, when this princess set out for Lorraine, sufficiently discontented, as it is well known, with the court of France, she declared publicly, that there were only three persons in it whom she esteemed, and that I was one of them.

HOSTILITIES between the king's party and that of the league, continued during the years 1595 and 1596, in the same parts of the kingdom as in the preceding years: in Brittany, between messieurs d'Aumont and de Saint-Luc, and the duke of Mercœur; and in the provinces in the south of France,

† Henry II. of that name, duke de Rohan, &c. who married Margaret de Bethune, as shall be seen in the sequel of these Memoirs, was grandson to René I. of that name, viscount de Rohan, and Isabella D'Albret, daughter to John king of Navarre. See in all the genealogists the other alliances of this illustrious house with that of France.

where several little skirmishes happened between messieurs de Ventadour, de la Rochefoucaut, de Châteauneuf, de Saint-Angel, de Lostange, de Chambaret, and other officers on the king's side*; and messieurs de Pompadour, de Rastignac, de Saint-Chamant, de Montpesat, de la Chapelle Biron, and other leaguers. The defeat of the Crocans, the siege of Blaye, the sacking of Agen, and the death of the duke of Rochefoucaut, are the most remarkable events † that happened in the Limosin and the adjacent places. Lesdiguières continued the war with equal success in Dauphiné, Provence, and Piedmont; sometimes against the duke of Savoy, and sometimes against the duke of Epernon. The con-

* Anne de Levis, duke de Ventadour, governor of Limosin, and lieutenant-general for the king in Languedoc: he died in 1622. Francis de la Rochefoucaut, prince of Marillac. René de Saint-Marthe, sieur de Châteauneuf. Charles de Rochefort de Saint-Angel. Lewis Francis de Lostange, or Loustange. N. de Chambaret, otherwise called Chambert, governor of Limosin. Lewis viscount Pompadour. N. de Rastignac. John de Saint-Chamant, or Antony his brother. They afterwards were all of the king's party. Henry Despres de Montpesat. N. de Charbonniere, sieur de la Chapelle Biron.

† Most of the events which the author mentions here, happened before the year 1595: The count de Rochefoucaut had been dead since the year 1591, having been killed, as we said before, at the battle of Saint-Yrier-la-perche. The viscount de Pompadour was likewise dead in 1591. The taking of Agen by the count de la Roche, son to marechal de Matignon, was likewise in the same year 1591. Blaye was besieged in the year 1593, by the same marechal, who, notwithstanding the defeat of a Spanish squadron, was obliged to raise the siege. The Crocans, so called from Croc, a village in the Limosin, where they began to assemble themselves, were also defeated about the same time by Chambert, or Chambaret, the governor of that province: and afterwards, the marechal de Matignon completed their final dispersion and overthrow in Languedoc, more by stratagem than by open force. Consult, as to all these events, the historians above quoted; as also see, in the particular history of the constable de Lesdiguières, the expeditions of this hero, famous for the victories at Epernon, Pontcharra, Vinon, &c. and for the taking of the fort d'Exiles, of Cahors, and of a great number of other places; whereby he became master of all Savoy, and a part of Piedmont.

Besides a war, France was sore afflicted this year, 1596, with a plague and famine, which were occasioned by the utter inversion of the seasons; for l'Étoile says, that there was a summer in April, an autumn in May, and a winter in June,

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clusion of all these expeditions was the entire defeat of the duke of Savoy, who, thinking to derive some advantage from the disunion of the dukes of Guise and Epernon, had marched as far as Provence, from whence he was shamefully driven back; and likewise that of the duke of Epernon, who yielded to his rival the duke of Guise, assisted by the same Lesdiguieres, d'Ornano, and the countess of Sault's party was left without any resource, and reduced to the necessity of imploring the king's clemency, by letters conceived in terms of the utmost submission, which his majesty received at Gaillon. His letters were very soon after followed by himself; he came and threw himself at the king's feet, which was a kind of triumph for Henry, this duke's humiliation, with that of Bouillon, and de la Tremouille, being amongst the number of those things he most earnestly desired.

DURING his stay at Amiens, the king took several new measures to facilitate my being joined in the council of finances. This prince, who by an effect of the native rectitude of his own mind, could not believe it possible for men to be as corrupt as they really were; and by the sweetness of his disposition incapable of proceeding to extremities till he had tried all other methods, had for a long time imagined, that he should at length bring this body to manage the revenue of the state with wisdom and œconomy; and this important reformation was not so difficult, but that it might be produced by the advice of one man of industry and integrity, whom he would associate with those that composed it. With this view he spoke both in public and private to messieurs of the council to receive me amongst them: however great their reluctance was, they durst not openly reject a proposition, which being made in this manner, resembled rather an intreaty than a command.

I CONFESS sincerely that I was not so easily brought

brought to yield to this medium. His majesty, in a private conversation, told me it was his desire I should endeavour to gain the good-will of messieurs of the council, and, by some instances of complaisance, remove the suspicions they had entertained, that if I joined their society it would be only to do them bad offices; so that I might engage them by my behaviour to make it their own request that I should be associated among them. I did not hesitate a moment in replying, that this appeared to me to be the worst way imaginable of being introduced into the council of the finances, to owe it as an obligation to those who governed them; and knowing so well as I did the dispositions of this society, I could not serve them and the state at the same time. The king, who did not like to be contradicted, and who likewise remembered my disputes with the duke of Nevers, supposed I had still some remains of resentment against those gentlemen, and thought he perceived a kind of haughtiness in my answer, and a tenaciousness of my own opinion, told me, with some quickness, that he had no desire to irritate every one upon my account; therefore without making any more attempts to bring me into the finances, he would seek for some other employment for me, since he knew I could not continue in a state of inactivity.

He had still some remains of displeasure in his countenance when he quitted me to visit madam de Liancourt, who enquiring the cause, represented to him, that he would never be served with fidelity till he found a man who, from a regard only to the public good, would not fear to draw upon himself the hatred of the financiers. As for me, I looked upon my engaging in the finances as farther off than ever; and reflecting that my employment would henceforwards be reduced to treaties and negotiations, an office which seldom fails to bring certain ruin upon any man who would maintain his rank in it with dignity,

dignity, and his reputation with honour, I resolved to explain myself to his majesty, and prevail upon him to approve of a scheme that would at least secure to me the reimbursement of all my expences. But Henry did not give me time to make this proposal to him: when I approached, he told me, that upon the representation madam de Liancourt had made him, he was now brought over to my opinion, and that without any longer delay, he was going to declare his intentions publicly, after having, for form's sake, imparted them first to the constable and Villeroi, to whom it belonged to dispatch my patents. These two gentlemen came very seasonably into the king's apartment, and received this order; the constable by a bow, and Villeroi by saying, he would give me the patents as soon as he could meet with a precedent of the proper form.

In the afternoon, when the king was gone to hunt, I went to make my acknowledgments to the marchioness de Monceaux (for this was the title that madam de Liancourt had lately taken); after which I thought I was obliged, in civility, to visit monsieur de Villeroi, of whom, instead of the patents, I asked for a warrant, which would have answered the same purpose. Villeroi made an evasive reply, and during three or four days that I pressed him, always deferred the affair on various pretences till the next day. At last, the king left Amiens, to go to Monceaux, and passed by Liancourt, where Liancourt, his first equerry, received and treated him very splendidly. It was in this place that they determined to use their utmost efforts against me.

LIANCOURT, at Villeroi's solicitation, invited the chancellor, who was his intimate friend, and the other members of the council, who came to that place by the king's order, to stay at his house during the king's residence there. They took advantage of this opportunity, of being always near the king, to labour effectually for my exclusion from the council.

cil. The method they made use of was not to attack me directly, but to insinuate to the king, that I was not fit for this employment, in which, they said, for want of that experience which only a long habitude can give, it would not be possible to avoid committing a thousand faults, the least of which was able to ruin, without resource, the credit, and consequently bring on the destruction, of the state. These discourses were so often repeated, in the king's presence (for they designedly turned the conversation upon that subject) and with so great an appearance of sincerity, that the king was at last shaken by them, and when at the same time he found these gentlemen could with such facility form the greatest projects, discourse with such clearness upon the strength and interests of the state, calculate the revenues of it with the utmost exactness, in a word, were possessed in appearance of the whole science of commerce in its full extent, and of every other method by which a state is rendered flourishing; and especially that they conversed with each other in a language hardly intelligible to any but themselves; and influenced still more by the long preparation which they represented as absolutely necessary before any one could be received into the council, he thought that the present bad state of the finances was not the greatest misfortune with which they were threatened. His majesty likewise looking upon all this as a proof of their repentance, and from the apprehensions he had just given them expecting to see a very great alteration in their conduct, no longer entertained a design of associating me amongst them.

VILLEROI, who during this time continued at Amiens, yet was not the less informed of all the measures taken by a body whom he directed as he pleased, seized this opportunity to send my patents to the king, which he could not dispense with himself from dispatching, after the express orders he had received from his majesty. When they were transmitted to
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the king, he had left Liancourt, having staid there only one day, and was then at Monceaux, where, still under the influence of these suggestions, he gave them to Beringhen, telling him to keep them without saying any thing to me, till he had orders to the contrary. Beringhen, who was one of my friends, discovered the secret to me, which I kept faithfully. Fifteen days passed in this manner. The king did not speak to Beringhen about my patents, and messieurs of the council, blinded by their success, instead of that sincere repentance which his majesty expected from them, gave him new proofs of their artifice and insincerity, and such gross ones, that they forced him to crush them with the blow which they might, without much difficulty, have avoided.

THE king discovered that the council had just farmed out the subsidies of Normandy for thirty thousand crowns, and to defraud the treasury of this sum, so much less than the true value of the revenues, they had applied it all to the discharging the old demands upon it. With a little attention, he convinced himself of other faults in their conduct; that the five large farms did not produce the fourth part of their value, because Zamet, Gondy, and other farmers of the king's revenues, who were employed in them, being connived at by the gentlemen of the council, divided with them the immense profits that accrued from those farms. The avarice of these people was not yet sated, and, under pretence of the losses at Calais, Cambrai, Ardres, &c. they allowed such drawbacks upon all the other parts of the king's revenues, that, instead of increasing, they grew perceptibly less. The king, amidst that just indignation which this knowledge inspired, sent for me, and commanded me to go to Paris, to enquire from whence so great a dissipation of the money proceeded, which could only take its rise from the council. I replied, that his majesty having, without doubt, revoked the order he had given to Villeroi,

to dispatch my patents, since I had not received them, I had no right to mix with the council, or to meddle with the affairs transacted by it. "How!" said Henry, concealing his consciousness of this reproach, "then Beringhen has not given you your patents, and a letter from Villeroi, which he has had these fifteen days: you see this heavy German would have forgot them." While, by the king's orders, I went to make preparations for my journey, that I might reach Clayc that evening, his majesty spoke to Beringhen, who consented to take all the blame upon himself. During this interval, a thought came into my head, which I communicated to the king when I returned to receive his last orders. I told him, that I thought it would be necessary for me to go, before the day appointed for the opening of the states, to some of the principal districts of the kingdom, to procure there a more certain account of the present state of his majesty's revenues, the diminution they had suffered, and the augmentations they would admit of, to the end that his majesty might regulate his demands upon the states according to this scheme, which, however imperfect, might still, in proportion, throw some light upon the strength of the more distant districts, and consequently upon the whole kingdom: that, besides this advantage, I did not despair of procuring for him, in those districts only which I could visit, the three or four hundred thousand crowns which he had demanded in vain of the council. I thought it would be useless, and even imprudent, to take upon myself to make this examination, without such an instrument as appeared to me to be the most effectual means to prevent my being deceived, which was a full power from the king to suspend the contumacious receivers and overseers from the exercise of their office, or even to discard them entirely, and to reward the integrity of those who had been zealous for his majesty's service.

HENRY

HENRY approved of the essential part of this scheme, but altered something of the manner in which it was to be proposed to the council. He was of opinion that I should take such measures in offering this advice to them, that those who most valued themselves upon the strength of their genius, such as Sancy, Schomberg, Fresne, and la-Grange-leroi, might seize the hint first themselves, and so pass, at least in part, for the authors of it; and likewise, that each one in the company might flatter himself that this commission would be given to him, or through his means, to the intendants and masters of requests, who were wholly at his devotion. Nothing could be more prudent than this medium, which gratified alike the vanity of some, and the avarice of all. Accordingly I took my place in the council, where, by a miracle, to be found only in courts, my colleagues, who inwardly pined with vexation, suffered nothing but joy to appear in their countenances, words, and behaviour. I was almost deceived myself by that profusion of praises with which the chancellor loaded me, and the manner in which he told me I had been expected by them with the utmost impatience: such is the art of courtiers; they settle it amongst themselves, that however grossly they play the counterfeit, they shall not laugh at each other.

THE treaty with the duke of Maienne, which had been agreed upon some time before, was concluded during the king's stay at Monceaux. When the king was at Amiens, the duke had sent a man to him named d'Estienne, to know what place would be agreeable to his majesty, for him to come and pay him his respects, and the king appointed Monceaux, in consideration of the duke's indisposition, which would not permit him to make longer journies than from Amiens to Soissons, where he resided*. The king

* L'Etoile tells the story otherwise: but in this the duke de Sully is more to be depended upon. Perfixe has likewise been mistaken in placing this interview in 1595. See the Chronol. Novenn. liv. viii. p. 599.

was walking in his park, attended only by me, and holding my hand, when the duke of Maienne arrived, who put one knee to the ground, with the lowest submissions, and added to a promise of inviolable fidelity his acknowledgments to his majesty for having forced him, he said, from the arrogance of the Spaniards, and the subtilty of the Italians. Henry, who as soon as he saw him approach, had advanced to meet him, embraced him thrice, and, forcing him to rise, embraced him again with that goodness which he never withheld from a subject that returned to his duty; then taking his hand, he made him walk with him in his park, conversing with him familiarly upon the embellishments he designed to make in it. The king walked so fast, that the duke of Maienne, equally fatigued by his sciatica, his fat, and the heat of the weather, suffered great torments without daring to complain. The king perceiving it, by the duke's being red and in sweat, whispered me, "If I walk longer, said he, with this corpulent body, I shall revenge myself upon him, without any great difficulty, for all the mischiefs he has done us." Then turning to the duke of Maienne, "Tell me truly, cousin," pursued he, "do I not walk a little too fast for you?" The duke replied, that he was almost stifled; and that, if his majesty walked but a very little while longer, he would kill him without designing it. "Hold there, cousin," replied the king with a smile, embracing him again, and lightly tapping his shoulder, "for this is all the vengeance you will ever receive from me?" The duke of Maienne, sensibly affected with this frank behaviour, attempted to kneel and kiss the hand his majesty gave him; and protested that he would henceforward serve him even against his own children. "I believe it," said Henry; "and that you may love and serve me a long time, go to the castle and rest and refresh yourself, for you have much need of it. I will give you a couple

“ couple of bottles of Arbois wine, for I know
 “ you do not hate it : here is Rosny, whom I re-
 “ sign to accompany you ; he shall do the honours
 “ of my house, and attend you to your chamber ;
 “ he is one of my oldest servants, and one of those
 “ who is most rejoiced at your resolving to serve,
 “ and love me affectionately.” The king conti-
 nuing his walk, left me with the duke of Maienne,
 whom I conducted to a summer-house to repose
 himself, and afterwards attended him to his horse,
 as much satisfied with the king and I as we were
 both with him.

THE king thought Monceaux so agreeable a place,
 that he staid there longer than he had at first intend-
 ed : he sent for the constable and Villeroi from
 Amiens, and ordered the council of the finances to
 reside at Meaux, for the conveniency of his receiving
 commands. I had not yet proposed in it my scheme
 of visiting the districts. His majesty, being con-
 vinced that it must have good consequences, took
 upon himself the care of proposing it. At the first
 hint he gave of it, the counsellors, who thought none
 but themselves could be designed for this employ-
 ment, and each of whom was attentive to his own
 particular interest, without prejudicing that of the
 society in general, approved of the design ; but were
 greatly surprized, when they found that, amongst
 them all, the king only named la Grange-le-roi for
 this purpose, and appointed him two districts : his
 majesty filled up the other commissions with the
 names of messieurs de Caumartin * and Bizouze,
 for two districts each ; and with those of the other
 two masters of requests, for one district each : four
 of the chief and most extensive ones were assigned

* Louis le Fevre, seigneur de Caumartin, was sent into the Lion-
 nois, Berry, and Auvergne: we shall speak of him hereafter. He
 was keeper of the seals in 1622, after the death of M. de Vic, and
 died the following year, in the seventy-second year of his age. He
 had the same eulogiums given him by historians as M. Sully bestows
 on him in the sequel.

to me. The gentlemen of the council began now to repent that they had not hindered the execution of a plan, which would produce a full proof of their injustice: they united their utmost endeavours to render it useless, or at least to traverse it as much as possible. Their malice was all directed against me; for by the confidence the king placed in me, and the part I had acted in this affair, they guessed the truth. I was accused of ignorance, rashness, and obstinacy, and other faults still more glaring; and had no sooner begun to exercise the duties of my employment, than I perceived that, by an effect of their foresight, they had taken all the necessary measures with the treasurers of France, the receivers general and particular comptrollers, clerks, and the lowest officers in the revenue. These people, almost all of whom had either sold, or blindly devoted themselves to their wills, were ready to do whatever was required of them; some absented themselves, and left their offices shut up; others presented me with a state of their accounts, drawn up with all that art which may be expected from men who make a science of roguery: others contented themselves with shewing me the orders of messieurs de Fresne, d'Incarville, and des Barreaux, by which they were forbid to communicate their registers and accounts to any person whatever.

To this excess of malice I at first opposed only patience and gentleness. I exhorted, I endeavoured to persuade, upon the principles of honour and justice, persons who were strangers to both: afterwards, I caused a report to be spread, that the design of assembling the states of the kingdom was to suppress that great number of offices and clerkships, especially the treasury, the least useful of all the societies, yet the most difficult to manage; and that none were to be continued in their places but those who made themselves worthy of that distinction, by a sincerity, which, on this occasion, would prove their

their regard to the public good. This threat producing no effect upon persons who were secretly supported by the council itself, I was obliged to make use of the power I had received, and interdicted most of these dangerous officers, causing the duties of their employment to be exercised by two out of each body, whom I chose amongst all those that appeared to have the best principles. By these means I made myself master of all the registers and accounts, which served me for a clue to enter that labyrinth of impositions and robberies.

WHAT a scene had I there before me ! It would be vain to attempt an account of the tricks and subtilties of this mischievous trade, or an enumeration of concealments, forgeries, misrepresentations, and productions of the same evidences, to serve different purposes ; not to mention the contrivance of an artificial confusion, thro' which those wretches see with great clearness, though, to every other eye, all is darkness and inextricable perplexity. I content myself with remarking that, by clearing only two old accounts, and bringing together the receipts and letters of exchange for the year current, and the year preceding, I easily collected more than five hundred thousand crowns, which was lost to the king. It may be judged what a sum would have been raised, if, from all those who were thus employed, a rigorous restitution had been demanded of all that they fraudulently gained in so long a course of dishonesty, out of the different sums that had passed their fingers, since only from assignments for old debts, arrears of long standing, and orders payable to the bearer, so much money was recovered. My partners were not as fortunate or as exact as myself ; all, except Caumartin, who brought the king two hundred thousand livres, paid his majesty only in long memorials of improvements to be made in the farming his revenues ; yet the king had chosen these persons with the greatest care. But it is not sur-

prising that they should act in this manner, for to dare the hatred of a society so powerful as that of the financiers in France, to be proof against the presents and allurements, against the turns and artifices of all their dependents, the greatest part of whom do not want understanding, and make use of it only to dazzle, corrupt, and deceive, requires a degree of courage and fortitude of which few persons are capable.

MEAN time the gentlemen of the council, who had intelligence of all my proceedings in the provinces, were in a situation that may be easily imagined: unless they found means to render all my endeavours useless, or to ruin me before my return, their reputation and interest would be entirely lost. My absence afforded them all the conveniency they could wish for to prosecute this design; every thing that malice could suggest was said and done, by them and their emissaries, to prejudice the king against me: they never mentioned me but as a tyrant, who drained the people of all their subsistence, by the most cruel extortions, without procuring any advantage to the king; since the sums with which I took such pains to fill his treasury, being designed for the payment of pensions to the princes of the blood, and salaries of the great officers of the crown, they would be only placed in his coffers, to be taken out again immediately. Notwithstanding the invectives and impositions of this dreadful cabal, none of whose practices against me I was unacquainted with, I continued to perform my duty; and they had no other effect than to increase my diligence in the execution of my plan, and my precaution in taking such measures as would effectually put a stop to their accusations.

HENRY, who had at first given no credit to their reports, beginning afterwards to apprehend some bad consequences from my inexperience in those affairs, desired me, in his letters, to return as soon as possible:

possible: but, at length, when my enemies had made their party so strong, that there was a general outcry against me at court, the king was prevailed upon to believe that I should use the power I was possessed of with a severity that would make even him odious to the people; and then, instead of an invitation, I received an absolute order to return to Paris. I obeyed without murmuring, tho' greatly concerned to be thus stopped in the midst of my endeavours for his service. I caused the accounts of my four districts to be immediately drawn up, and signed by eight receivers-general; and not having time to convert the fifteen hundred thousand crowns I had raised in a less bulky coin, I loaded seventy carts with them, making the eight receivers-general accompany them, under the guard of a provost and thirty of the marshalseamen, who conducted them to Rouen, where the king then was, on account of the opening of the states.

OF all the slanders which had been invented by the gentlemen of the council, to procure my disgrace, none seemed to them so specious as to make the king believe, that I had filled the prisons with the officers and clerks of his finances; to which they thought fit to add that, through an insolent vanity, I brought along fifty of the principal ones bound in my train. The king, who suspected no falsehood in so positive a charge, received me, when on my arrival at Rouen I went to pay him my respects, with an air that convinced me my enemies had been very active in their endeavours to hurt me. He did me the honour indeed to embrace me, but with a coldness and reserve which were not usual with him. He asked me why I had given myself the useless trouble of bringing money along with me, which I knew belonged to persons whom he had no inclination to disoblige; and was greatly surprised to hear that not one denier of it was due to the princes of the blood, nor to any of the pensionaries

of the state, who were all paid the April quarter, and would be likewise as exactly those of July and October, since I had not taken up any of the payments beforehand. The king, after obliging me to repeat these words several times, and even to swear to the truth of them, broke into an exclamation against those wicked detractors, and impudent impostors, as he called them; "but," added he, "what do you intend to do with the receivers and officers, whom you keep prisoners in your train?" The astonishment into which this question threw me, was alone sufficient to convince the king of the falshood of this accusation; nor was it difficult for me to perceive that moment, that the malice of messieurs of the council would recoil on themselves; and that it would disclose more effectually the secret motives of their conduct than any thing I could say to him. His majesty required no other explanation from me; on the contrary, he loaded me with praises, and gave me a thousand proofs of his friendship and esteem.

HAVING been told that the sum I had raised must be very considerable, upon his asking me what it was, I replied, that being unwilling to keep any part of it in my hands, either for my charges, expences, or pension, that the receivers-general might find the full sum specified in the accounts, and learn from thence never to keep back any part of his revenues, his majesty might himself deduct my expences from the fifteen hundred thousand crowns which I had brought him. A sum so considerable gave great pleasure to the king, who was in extreme necessity for money: he told me, that he would take care my expences should be all paid; and that besides my pension of ten thousand livres a month, which he raised to eighteen, he would present me with the sum of six thousand crowns, as a reward for the service I had just done him. He commanded me to say nothing of what had passed be-

tween him and me, and sent me to lay apart from the money I had brought him what was necessary for the payment of the six companies of Swiss, at the rate of eighteen hundred crowns a company, and to give it them the next day.

I RETURNED to my carriages, which stood in two courts belonging to the sieur de Martinbault, under the same guard that had conducted them to Rouen. I ordered them to be unloaded, and the barrels that contained the money to be placed in apartments, the locks of which were changed, and secured by large padlocks, with three keys to each; the two receivers had one a-piece and myself the third. The next morning I sent the Swiss officers the ten thousand crowns that were due to them, by three clerks, escorted by ten of the guard.

A SHORT time after I sent away this escort, Sancy, to whom the king had said, that he must pay the Swiss, and who was generally charged with this employment, sent me a billet, in which he desired me to deliver to the sieur le Charron, the bearer, ninety thousand crowns for the payment of the Swiss. These were the terms in which the billet was conceived; for this counsellor would have thought it a degradation of his high rank to have condescended to any politeness or explanation with his colleagues. I was equally offended at the stiff air of this letter, and the impudent demand of a sum that I knew to be three times more than was due; therefore answered the bearer haughtily, that I neither knew Sancy, his writing, nor his orders. "How! do you not know Sancy?" said Charron, surprised, no doubt, at my presumption, for at this name the whole council trembled, the rank Sancy held in it approaching very near to that of superintendant. Perceiving that I had no intention to send any other answer, he went back to report it with all the timidity of a servant who is apprehensive of awakening the bad humours of his master. Unfortunately for

Sancy, he repeated my message before several persons who were witnesses likewise of his transports. "We shall soon see," said he, swearing, "whether he knows me or not." Then after loading me with what invectives he thought fit, he went directly to Saint-Ouen to the king. "Well, Sancy," said his majesty to him, "have you been to pay our Swifs?" "No, sire," replied Sancy, with a sullen air, "I cannot go, for it does not please your monsieur de Rosny that I should, who plays the emperor in his apartment, sits upon his barrels of money like an ape upon a block, and says he knows no one; and I am not sure whether you will have more credit with him than any one else." "How is this!" replied the king, "I see you will never be weary of doing this man bad offices, because I confide in him and he serves me diligently." His majesty added, that my refusal was so much the less probable, as I had, by his order, agreed to give this money to the Swifs. Sancy supported his assertion by the testimony of le Charron, whom he had brought along with him. The king, suspecting some new instance of malignity, ordered Biart, one of the grooms of the bed-chamber, to go and fetch me.

As soon as he saw me, he asked me what had happened between Sancy and me. "I am going to tell you, sire," replied I boldly: and accordingly, without fearing the least resentment from the terrible Sancy, I related all that had passed, in terms that sufficiently mortified his vanity. Sancy, who was not of a temper to yield, became more insolent than before, and assuming an imperious tone, an altercation so spirited ensued between us, although in the king's presence, that his majesty was obliged to command us to be silent. That instant, ceasing to speak to my adversary, I turned towards the king, and intreated him to give me no superior in affairs wherein I acted solely by his order. The gallery at
Saint-

Saint-Ouen, where this scene passed, was crouded with a great number of persons, who, being weary of Sancy's insolence, rejoiced to see him suffer this little disgrace. "It would have been very difficult," said some, as I was afterwards informed, "for two such geniusses to have exercised the same employments, without one of them being supplanted by the other; but in the humour the king is in at present, the best œconomist will be his choice." Others beheld my increase of favour with envy; and others, who probably had very little regard for either of us, laughed at the novelty of the sight, and cried, "There is one hot-headed man, who has met with another that will stick by him."

THE report of those great sums with which I had filled the king's coffers was no sooner spread, than I was overwhelmed by the demands of an infinite number of his creditors, most of whom were sent by messieurs of the council; who through impatience to see it dissipated soon, agreed with the creditors to have the usual drawbacks upon their debts. My principal view in raising this money being to make a fund for those military expeditions which the king was shortly to begin, without his being obliged to load the people with new imposts, I was resolved not to suffer it to be squandered away; and therefore resisted all their importunities, and continued unmoved by their insolence and threats. But reflecting afterwards, that there was an absolute necessity for sending home the eight receivers-general, who alone were acquainted with the uses to which I put this money, I was afraid of giving too much occasion for slander, by keeping so large a sum in my possession after their departure; and I resolved to send it to the royal treasury. The king, who thought his money no where secure but in my hands, endeavoured several times to vanquish my scruples; but in vain: I was determined to prevent the least suspicion upon this occasion, and therefore confided

it to the care of the two treasurers, Morfontaine and Gobelin. I removed his majesty's fears by promising him that I would observe so carefully how this money was laid out, that he should not suffer the least loss. I separated, in the presence of the receivers, those sums that were necessary for the payment of the army, the expence of an artillery of twenty pieces of cannon, with double equipages, a sufficient quantity of powder, besides a convoy of other implements necessary for a siege, such as pick-axes, &c. which I caused to be carried to Amiens. I likewise laid aside fifty thousand crowns more for the king's privy purse, out of which he generally bestowed presents, unknown to the catholics, on many old officers and protestant soldiers that had served him faithfully in his wars. The remainder, which I calculated with the greatest exactness, amounted still to four hundred and fifty thousand crowns, and I carefully preserved both my former accounts, and those relating to the sums that were taken from the total. But being desirous of having a second proof of what the gentlemen of the council and their receivers-general were capable of, I affected great negligence concerning the disposal of the money; and when the receivers came to me, before they set out for their offices, to demand a copy of my accounts, I replied, that having no longer any concern about a sum that was now under the care of other persons, and they having been witnesses themselves of the uses to which the money had been applied, I had destroyed those papers, as having now no further occasion for them. This the receivers did not fail to inform their masters of.

A MONTH was passed since the money was carried to the treasury, during which they made some payments out of it that I likewise pretended to keep no account of: but here it was not possible to commit a mistake; for no sums being paid without a warrant
from

from the council, all that was necessary was, to keep an exact memorandum of it, which I did: These warrants in a short time amounted to fifty thousand crowns, and consequently there was still four hundred thousand in the treasury. The king, however, some days after, demanding two hundred thousand crowns to be sent to Amiens, where the designed preparations were already made, particularly for the taking of Hedin, Sancy and the rest replied, that they believed this sum was still in the treasury, and that was all; and sending for d'Incarville, who was likely to know best, having the care of the registers, he assured the king that there was hardly two hundred thousand crowns in his coffers. His majesty, to whom I had said three days before that there was still four hundred thousand crowns remaining, was extremely surpris'd; but their assertions were so positive that they forced his belief; and he told me that I must certainly be mistaken. I was so sure of the contrary, that I mentioned before d'Incarville himself, and all my colleagues, whom his majesty had sent for, that there was a mistake of one half of the money. D'Incarville replied, that his registers were more certain than my memory; and offer'd to bring, the next day, an extract of all the sums that had been paid out of the treasury. I perceived from whence so great a security proceeded, and I was resolv'd to suffer them, till the last moment, to flatter themselves that they were going to gain a complete victory over me. I had courage enough to conceal, even from the king, the stratagem I had made use of, and to endure, without reply, the reproaches he made me, for letting this sum go out of my hands, contrary to his desire.

THE accounts were brought the next day, well attested, and no mistake was found in the sums that had been laid out; that would have been too palpable: the whole mistake lay in the receipt, which was founded upon their full persuasion that I had really

destroyed the papers, which proved the quantity and quality of the coin carried at different times to the royal treasury. I secretly reflected with astonishment on the subtilty with which they had acted with regard to this receipt, so as to spread over it an obscurity impenetrable to any one who was not possessed of a full proof of its falshood, and with what art they had given to this obscurity an air of truth, and even of conviction. I asked to see the receipts, with a feigned ill-humour, which seemed to these gentlemen a confession of my defeat. The council offered to make the receivers-general depose upon oath the numbers and contents of those carriages which had been sent to the royal treasury. I replied, that the discussion would be too tedious. D'Incarville, who took great advantages of my dissembled perplexity, told me, that I might go and examine the register of the finances upon the spot, since they could not be moved out of the offices. Although I easily comprehended that these registers, public and authorized as they were, might still be counterfeited like the rest, yet I could not imagine the manner in which it was done, the receipt for each of the carriages being signed by d'Arnaud and de l'Hôte, whose hand-writing I knew: I had therefore a curiosity to see these registers: all appeared very exact, and in the usual forms. Messieurs of the council began then to insult over me, and used their supposed advantages very ill.

I now thought it time to silence them, and to cover them in their turn with a real confusion. Accordingly, I produced the accounts, signed by the eight receivers-general; and likewise an exact memorandum of all the warrants. That instant all their arrogance vanished, and they would have been reduced to the necessity of confessing their roguery, had they not bethought themselves of a contrivance to avoid it; but so poor a one, as still left them all the disgrace. A clerk, instructed by d'Incarville, came

came to the king, and told him, that l' Hôte, who kept the key of the hall where the registers lay, being absent one day when one of the most considerable of the carriages was brought to the treasury, and the receivers who conducted it being in haste to return, he thought it would be sufficient to mark the sum contained in the carriage upon a loose sheet of paper, intending to make it be afterwards revised, and signed by d'Incarville, and inserted in the registers; but that he himself afterwards going to Heudicourt, it had slipped out of his memory; for which he intreated his majesty's pardon. The king contented himself with slightly reprimanding him for his neglect, ordering more care to be taken of the registers for the future. Then going towards the constable (who was at the end of the gallery where all this had passed, and who in the whole affair had appeared more favourable to the gentlemen of the council than me) he cried out to him at a distance, in the presence of several persons, that his money was found, and that he knew in good time those in whom he ought to confide.

AMIDST these contentions came the day appointed for the meeting of the states of the kingdom, or rather of the assembly of notables; that is, of persons of consideration; for so it is that they were called. The reason of adopting this name*, instead

* Perefice says, that it is because the king had not time to assemble the states together: "The kings," (says d'Aubigné, with his usual malevolence) "have recourse to such sorts of assemblies, when those of the states-general are tedious, difficult, or suspected by them. The design of assembling these little states being to find money to carry on the war against Spain, there were several schemes proposed and agreed to; the pancarte or old rate, was the chief, which was but very ill received in many places of the kingdom, &c." Tom. III. liv. iv. c. 14. De Thou says very little of it, liv. cxvii. and Davila no more. All that is said in these Memoirs about this assembly is found, so far as I know, no where else: and in order to render it the more intelligible, I have taken the liberty which I have desired in the preface to this work, and that was to compare with each other all the thoughts that the compilers of M. de Sully's manuscripts have made use of in their Memoirs, without any

of that of the states of the kingdom, which should naturally have been used, arose wholly from the lawyers and financiers, who perceiving that at this time they had riches and influence to give them such a superiority to the other classes, as they were unwilling any but the clergy should share with them, disdained to see themselves levelled with the people by one common denomination; which yet must have been the case, if the forms used in these assemblies, and particularly the distinction of the three orders, had been preserved. They, indeed, made their appearance with magnificence and splendor, which sunk the nobility, the soldiers, and other members of the state, below consideration, since they were not able to dazzle the eyes with splendid equipages, the glitter of gold, nor a long train of attendants; things which will always draw the envy, the reverence, and the worship, of the people; or, more truly, will always shew our depravity and folly.

SUCH, in general, is the notion that ought to be formed of these great, these august assemblies; those men whom one imagines, that they must come thither with minds full of wisdom and public spirit, warm with all the zeal that animated the ancient legislators, commonly think on no other business than how to make a ridiculous display of their pomp, and shew their effeminacy, to most advantage; and whose appearance would sink them into infamy, if they were beheld without prejudice. To complete the notion, we must take in the discord of the several bodies which compose these assemblies, their contrarieties of interest, their opposition of opinion, the desire of each to over-reach another, their

order or connexion. As we may well suppose that they were all mutually connected, and had each their proper object in the mind of this great statesman, it entirely coincides with his views, to apply them to the subjects to which they naturally belong. And all that can be desired is, I think, never to alter the substance of the thoughts in my original; to which I have principally applied myself.

intrigues, and their confusion; all which, together with that meanness discovered in the prostitution of eloquence, have their original from the same hateful cause: for by some fatality it comes to pass, that those improvements which an age makes in knowledge above preceding times, are not applied to the advancement of virtue, nor serve any other purpose than to refine wickedness. It is true, that in these assemblies there may be found a small number of men of great abilities and great virtues, men whose qualities no-body disputes; but, instead of being forced into public notice, they are treated with an affectation of negligence and contempt, which sink them into silence, and with them suppress the voice of the public good. Thus long experience has shewn, that an assembly of these states rarely produces the good expected from it: for that such might be its effect, the members ought to be equally instructed in true and honest policy; at least, ignorance and knavery should sit dumb in the presence of men of knowledge and integrity: but such is always the character of multitudes, that for one wise man there are many fools, and presumption is the constant attendant of folly; and it is here more than in any place, that great virtues, instead of exciting respect and emulation, provoke hatred and envy.

BESIDES, if the prince that holds these assemblies is powerful and fond of power, he will easily defeat their schemes, or crush them into silence; but if he is weak, and unacquainted with his own rights, an unbounded licentiousness of debate will soon sink the kingdom into all the miseries that naturally follow the depression of the royal authority. Necessity therefore requires, that there should be, both in the sovereign and the subject, a complete knowledge of their several rights, and mutual obligations. The first law of a sovereign is, that he should keep the law, for he has himself two sovereigns, God and the law: justice ought to preside on his throne, and gentle-

gentleness to support it. God is the true owner of kingdoms, and monarchs are but the ministers, who ought to exhibit to the people a true copy of the perfections of him in whose place they stand; and remember, that they do not govern like him but when they govern as fathers. In hereditary monarchies, there is an hereditary mistake: the sovereign is master of the life and property of his subjects, and by means of these few words, *Such is our pleasure*, is dispensed from giving the reasons of his conduct, and from having any reasons to give. Supposing this were really the right of a king, is it not the utmost degree of imprudence, to incur voluntarily the hatred of those who must every moment have his life in their hands? And hated he must certainly be, who forces a concession of power, which he declares beforehand his intention to abuse.

WITH regard to subjects, the first law which religion, reason, and nature prescribe them, is to obey; their duty is to reverence, honour, and fear their princes, as representatives of the Supreme Governor, who may be said to appear visibly on earth by these his ministers, as he appears in heaven by the orbs of light. These duties they are to pay from a principle of gratitude, for the security and advantages they enjoy under the shelter of the royal authority: for the calamity of having an unjust, ambitious, and arbitrary king, they have no other remedy but that of softening him by submission, and propitiating God by prayer. All grounds of resistance, however solid they may be thought, will appear, upon a careful examination, to be nothing more than artful and subtle pleas for disloyalty; nor has it been found that, by this practice, princes have been reformed, or taxes abolished; but to the calamities, which gave room for complaints, has been added a new degree of misery, as may be found by enquiring into the sentiments of the lower people, and particularly those of the country.

SUCH are the principles upon which the mutual happiness of governors and subjects might easily be fixed, if in general assemblies of the nation, each party appeared fully convinced of the truth of these maxims: but, supposing this the case, there would still be less need of general assemblies, to which recourse is never had but when there is some disagreement between the members and the head. It may, however, be concluded, that, as these assemblies are at present useless, both on account of the occasions on which they are called, and of the methods in which they proceed, so they might be of great efficacy for the support of regularity and general virtue, if the prince, acting as the real head of united members, would call them with no other purpose, than to oblige those who lay down their employments, to give an account of their administration, in the face of the kingdom, and to chuse, with wisdom and discernment, those by whom their places should be supplied; animating them to a due discharge of their offices by his exhortations, and by a public distribution of praise and blame, punishments and rewards*.

HENRY, while he waited for the meeting of the assembly, took a journey to Arques, Dieppe, and Caudebec, &c. that he might have a sight of the places where so many memorable actions had been performed, and I accompanied him throughout his journey.

WHEN he returned to Rouen, he opened the assembly, by a speech, uttered with a dignity becoming a great prince, and a sincerity with which princes are unacquainted: he declared that, to avoid all appearance of violence or compulsion, he had determined not to call an assembly of deputies, named by the king and blindly obsequious to all his in-

* There cannot, I think, any thing be added to the justness of these sentiments. And we need only remit hither those who, as Comines, Boulainvilliers, &c. have taken the side of the states, and the aristocratical party.

clinations, but that he gave an admission at large to persons of all ranks and conditions, that men of knowledge and merit might have an opportunity to propose, without fear, whatever they thought necessary for the public good; that at that time he would not attempt to confine them by any limitations, but enjoined them not to make an ill use of this freedom from restriction, by an attempt to lessen the sovereign authority, which is the chief strength of the kingdom; and exhorted them to establish union amongst their members, to give ease to the people, to clear the royal treasury from debts, which, though it was subject to them, it never had contracted; to shew their justice in reducing exorbitant salaries, without lessening those that were necessary; and to settle, for times to come, a fund clear of incumbrances, and sufficient to maintain the army.

HE added, that it should be no objection to him, that the measures proposed were not of his own contrivance, provided he found them dictated by justice, and public spirit: that they should not find him pleading his age, his experience, or personal qualities, as an exemption from any just regulations, though princes often made excuses far less defensible; but that he would shew, by his example, that it was no less the business of kings to enforce edicts, than of subjects to obey them †.

HENRY rose after this speech, declaring that nei-

“ † If I were desirous, says he, to pass for an elaborate orator, I would have introduced here more fine words than good will; but my ambition aims at something higher than to speak well: I aspire to the glorious titles of the deliverer and restorer of France. I have not called you together, as my predecessors have done, to oblige you blindly to approve of my will and pleasure; I have caused you to be assembled, in order to receive your counsels, to depend upon them, and to follow them; in short, to put myself into your hands as my guardians: this is a declaration which is not very common for kings, for grey hairs, and conquerors like me to make; but the love which I bear my subjects, and the extreme fondness which I have to preserve my state, have made me find every thing easy and every thing honourable.” *Peresq. part 2.*

ther he nor his council would be present at their consultations, that they might be wholly freed from constraint; and accordingly went out with all his counsellors, leaving only me, to lay before the assembly such accounts, memoirs, and public papers, as were necessary for their information.

WHEN I gave an account of the last assembly of these states at Paris, I spoke at large of their methods of proceeding, and the forms used in those great and numerous assemblies; and shall therefore only observe, at present, that, excepting the subject of their deliberations, this assembly resembled the former. As they were now necessarily to come to some conclusion, particularly with relation to the subsidies, and to settle the method of raising them, they could think of nothing better to be done, than to make a collection of old useless regulations of a nature contrary to the present state of affairs; instead of considering that the nation ought to be treated as a body afflicted with some new and extraordinary distemper, and therefore requiring an uncommon remedy, and that in proportion as its mechanism is better known, the operations performed upon it ought to be altered; such is the force of prejudice, that men continue obstinately to endeavour the cure of their present disorders, by means of which the inefficacy is demonstrated by their inability to prevent the evils or to stop their progress. An injudicious reverence for antiquity, a false notion of causes, occasioned by the distance of time; a want of diligent reflection on the past, and of clear views of the future, about which our self-love hinders us from coming to any agreement, all contribute to perpetuate the wrong measures of ancient times. It is a maxim with some, that laws and customs are not to be changed; a maxim to which I zealously adhere, except when the advantage, and what is much stronger, the necessity of the public † requires their alteration.

* The genius of the French nation, they say, is such, that this alone

ACCORDINGLY they amused themselves with raking old schemes out of the dust, and went on still enlarging the collection, which they found already to be of no value, till an impossibility came full in their view, and destroyed their project; for it appeared that these old constitutions were adapted to a form of government in which royalty, though decorated with a specious title, was a state of servitude; and could therefore not be applied to a time when the public interest had concentrated, in a single person, the authority which was formerly distributed amongst great numbers, and established monarchy as the surest foundation of general security.

THIS fancy was followed by another, which held them for a time by some specious appearances, though, in effect, it was no less inconvenient than the former. This was the establishment of a new council, which they thought it proper to denominate the council of reason, whose members should be first named by the assembly, and afterwards by the sove-

lone renders all change, even the most useful and necessary, extremely dangerous for us: a system, whose foundation it seems all the world, at this day, agrees was excellent, and which, notwithstanding this, has had very troublesome consequences, makes us insist more than ever upon this consideration. The duke de Sully, who lived at a time in which he did not want for proofs of the defects objected to the nation, would have answered to this, that two things are absolutely necessary in any nation whatever, in order to secure the success of such sort of enterprizes: the first is an authority in the legislator, sufficiently great not to be obliged to change, or abate the least tittle of his plan through fear, or policy, or compliance: the second is a wisdom equally great, to prepare all the means for putting it in execution. Amidst a great number of real changes that have been made in the different parts of the government, which will be seen in the sequel of these Memoirs, we may observe a still greater number of projects which have not yet been executed, though formed a great while ago: and what is the reason? why, because Henry the Great and his minister watched and waited for the proper conjunctures and circumstances, &c. which should render them certain and infallible. I will not scruple to say, that perfect skill consists not in imagining, but in knowing, the hazards that proceed from too great precipitation and too great slowness, to be aware of the proper opportunity; and in short, to know how to conduct and how to prepare for it.

reign

reign courts. But there was already a council of this kind, and that very council had been apparently the cause of the disorders of the finances, and the misery of the nation. This signified nothing; the whole multitude suffered themselves to be so dazzled by a fine name, and a new election, that it was proposed, and determined, to make the same evil its own remedy. It was settled, that the new council should divide into two portions the revenues of the king, which they estimated, without much examination, at thirty millions †; that they should keep one half in their own hands, for the discharge of arrears, pensions, wages of offices, and other public debts and engagements; and that out of the same sum they should repair or make cities, buildings, roads, or other public works; and that of this sum neither the king nor the sovereign court should have power to take cognizance, or examine the application. It may easily be imagined, how the members of the council flattered their rapacity by a disposal absolute and unaccountable of half the revenues of the state: let us for a moment suppose them dishonest in their management, what numbers must be distressed, what confusion and ruin must ensue?

THE other part was left to the king, to be managed by him, or his ministers, with equal exemption from account: this was burthened with all the expences of the artillery and fortifications, all foreign affairs, embassies, and negotiations, the support of his household, his buildings, and his equipage, the payment of his officers, and his privy purse. Neither party was confined by any prescriptions, as to the manner of raising or managing either share of

† The author has reason to say that this computation is not exact, since, notwithstanding the augmentation of the king's revenues, and the clearing of his debts that happened under his ministry, and which may be seen in the sequel of these Memoirs to amount to a very considerable sum, cardinal Richelieu did not value the whole revenues of the state, after all the alterations which he himself had made, at more than thirty-five millions. Test. Pol. part 2. page 152.

the revenue; so they preserved that mutual independence on which the projectors valued themselves; as if the strength of the kingdom did not depend upon the power of assisting, according to their respective need, any part that should happen to be in distress, and supplying the sick, if I may use the expression, with the superfluous blood of those that are in health.

As the thirty millions at which the royal revenues have been rated, were suspected to be somewhat more than their real value, they resolved to create a new tax, by laying a penny in the shilling upon all merchandizes †, and provisions bought and sold in the kingdom, by wholesale or retail. When they computed the amount of the trade of particular persons, and the expences of necessity, convenience, and luxury, they concluded that this new tax might safely be rated at five millions; and the happy notion was blest a thousand times, though in reality the scheme was no less chimerical than the new computation was defective ‡.

WHEN the assembly had thus brought their scheme in all its branches to perfection, they sent it by their deputies to the king, who received the proposal in his council: the indignation raised by this project instantly appeared by such a confusion of out-cries and murmurs, that the king had great difficulty to make the council give their opinions one by one. The field of discussion was boundless; every man was made eloquent by vexa-

† Corn was the only thing that was exempted.

‡ M. de Sully thinks and speaks of the establishing a *sou* or penny in the shilling, as almost the whole world thought and spoke of it at that time. Le Grain nevertheless gives his suffrage to this tax, liv. vi. Matthieu does not condemn it; and what is of greater weight, cardinal Richelieu finds it to be so much the more just, as it is established, says he, in divers other states, and had been already resolved on by a body of the state, under Francis I. However, the difficulties and inconveniences which M. de Sully mentions in the sequel are real, and partly the same which made Richelieu be the first entirely to dissuade Lewis XIII, from establishing it. Test. Pol, part 2. ch. 9. sect. 7.

tion and resentment. When my turn came, I satisfied myself with saying coldly, that I had nothing to add to such fine harangues. The king, who observed me attentively, and wondered at my caution, resolved to have a private conversation with me before he gave the suffrage which was to determine for, or against the scheme of the assembly; he therefore adjourned the consideration of the affair till the morrow, in the presence of the same persons. When we were alone, he asked me with eagerness, the reason of my silence; and I made him the following observations.

It is certain, that the assembly were so infatuated with their new scheme, that if the king should follow the opinion of his council, and reject it in high terms, he would expose himself to the danger of a general dissatisfaction; the more dangerous because the states assembled acknowledged no superior, nor allowed that even the king had power to alter their decisions. One of the most important maxims of monarchy is, that the king would take care not to reduce his subjects to actions of disobedience, or even to words of disrespect; besides, the king would directly break the word, by which he had promised the assembly to conform himself to their resolutions: and to conclude, all they that contrived, or had adopted the scheme, would make the rejection of it by the king, an argument by which they would convince themselves, that this was the true scheme of affairs, till by an attempt to put it in execution they were cured of their notion, and would insinuate, that only their prince had prevented them from seeing that practice established in France, which had been for so long a time desired. Every body knows, that it is the disposition of the people, especially of those that have spirit and resentment, to abuse the actions of their sovereign.

On the other side, it was equally certain that this project was at once destructive in its tendency, and impracticable

impracticable in its execution ; to give full conviction of this the least knowledge of the finances was sufficient : besides the obstructions which I have just been mentioning, how many more must arise from the competitions which would be produced by an election of the members of the council, who were to be taken equally from all the provinces of the kingdom. No sooner could this scheme, which was now only sketched out, be branched into particulars, than that appearance of impartiality and justice, by which the conduct of public affairs must be necessarily thrown into the hands of new and unexperienced men, would occasion innumerable miscalculations and mistakes. It was apparent that the heads of the new council would immediately grow giddy, and that all the measures they would take would be only blunder accumulated on blunder.

FROM the impossibility that any advantage should arise from this scheme, I drew my arguments to persuade the king to consent to it ; by which he would obtain, in the eye of his people, the honour of falling readily into the measures which they themselves had marked out ; and this condescension would be so far from lessening the royal authority, that when the new council had made the melancholy experiment of their strength, he would ultimately receive this advantage, that all the parts of the finances would fall back into his hands, with exemption from dependence. As the calculation of the royal revenues was made by the assembly, and the council selected from it, it would be supposed that they had taken in all necessary considerations relating to those payments, of which the collection was most difficult and expensive : they could not therefore take it amiss, that the king chose his fifteen millions of that part which he liked best. Choosing for his part the revenue of the five great farms, *des parties casuelles, du domaine, et des aides*, he might expect, without presumption, to see them doubled, if not trebled, in a short time.

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This I spoke with full confidence, because I had already provided myself of responsible people, who had engaged to take these farms at a considerable advance. With respect to that which remained in the hands of the council of reason, the case was quite otherwise; and I would have been bound to the king, that the penny in the shilling, amongst others, would not, when all expences were defrayed, bring in above two hundred thousand crowns clear money.

THE reason why I did not give this opinion openly in the council, was, because I thought it proper that it should seem to come from the king himself. The king, after having heard me with great attention, was afraid lest my advice should bring him into difficulties, and into a mistake in some sort irretrievable; but having considered my reasons very seriously, he resolved to follow my opinion.

WHEN the council met next day, they determined as they did before, and I determined in the same manner. The king declaring that he could not follow their advice, left them in the utmost astonishment, and went in to the assembly, where he declared, in strong terms, that finding himself disposed to promote, with all his power, the inclinations of so wise a body, he received their scheme without any qualification or restriction, which he considered as consisting of three articles; the erection of an independent council, the division of the public revenues, and the levy of a penny in the shilling; that the assembly had nothing to do but in twenty-four hours to name the new council; to give in a schedule of the thirty millions, that he might chuse his own share; and that they should see, by his conduct, whether he or the council were the best œconomists. The goodness and compliance of the king were loudly praised; and the council finding itself concluded by a determination so unanimous, which left no farther room for debate, at least between the king and his subjects, thought of nothing but returning to Paris, there to conclude this master-piece of policy.

THE new council was not formed with so little disturbance as had been expected; that change of temper which retarded the election was so great, that penetrating persons saw from that moment how chimerical a scheme had been embraced by the multitude. The nomination was at last completed, in which the clergy were very busy from the first; and the cardinal de Gondy *, famous for his œconomical abilities, was put at its head, as if public affairs were to be administered by the same rules as those of a private house. The council of reason held their meetings regularly in the episcopal palace, where the cardinal had assigned them an apartment.

BUT no sooner had they begun to lay papers upon the table for the collection of the payments of the next year, but these new money-mongers were so much perplexed, that they knew not on which side to turn them. The farther they went, the more the labyrinth was perplexed; they found nobody that would undertake for the penny in the shilling; the farmers asked for other funds, but at a discount which put them quite at a loss; and to add to their vexation, the business could not be put off: all the pensioners of the state came upon them, and talked of nothing but millions to people that had not yet got a single farthing. Chagrin and vexation soon broke the unanimity of the new council; they began immediately to quarrel, and reproach one another with ignorance and rashness.

THE thing was come, in a few weeks, to this pass, that the council of reason could do nothing reasonably; and they were forced to apply to d'Incarville and me, and begged of us to come, at least once a week, and give them such counsel as we gave the king, whose part of the revenue they saw growing and flourishing day after day. I excused myself on

* Peter de Gondy, bishop of Paris, and brother to Albert de Gondy duke of Retz, a peer and marshal of France, of whom we have spoken before.

account of my employ, which took me up altogether. They then addressed the king; who, with his ordinary goodness, commanded me to go: but I did not forget, on that occasion, what was necessary to his service. I lamented the state of the affairs of the council; I found no means of extrication, and helped forward nothing but perplexity. In short, scarce three months had passed before these profound politicians, being at the end of all their art, and sinking under their burden, went to the king to beg to be discharged. The king, whom I believe began to like this new regulation that set him at ease, told them that every thing was difficult at first; advised them to take heart, and sent them away confuted by their own reasons. But they soon came back, and changed their intreaties to importunity; confessed that they had been in the wrong when they undertook to govern the kingdom, and shewed a thousand times more satisfaction on their dismissal from their employment, than at their advancement to it.

THIS burden fell upon me, as an addition to that with which I was already loaded, and my labour was so great, that it required both my days and nights. As I had a kind of passion for the re-establishment of the finances, I made prodigious advances in the ancient registers of the council of state, the parliaments, the chambers of accounts, and the courts of aids, and even in the private accounts of the former secretaries of state, for the new ones would not communicate theirs. I did the same thing in the offices of the treasures of France, in the treasury chamber, and in the papers of the treasurers of the exchequer †: I raked even into that vast collection where all the ordinances are kept inscribed. Having a

† “Rosny, before he entered upon this office of superintendant, had furnished himself with all the necessary informations, the better to be enabled to acquit himself therein: he perfectly knew all the revenues of the kingdom, and all the expences necessary in raising them: he communicated all that he knew of this matter to the king, who had in like manner studied all these things thoroughly himself.” &c. *Peres.* p. 225.

design to draw up a general state of the finances for the year 1595, which was the end of all my researches, I thought it fit to neglect nothing, that I might come as near as was possible, in the first year of my management, to the exactness to which I earnestly desired to carry it. Whatever fraud or mistake had crept into the finances, I imagined that it could be neither so great, nor so general, but I should be able to prove and shew its original, by comparing these pieces which I have been mentioning, or by the inferences to be drawn from them, with a due observation of the different proportions of various times and alterations of affairs.

THE people of the king's council were frightened at the sight of my project, and beginning to imagine that I should throw every thing open, blamed themselves now more than ever for not having with much vigour opposed my admission into the council. Maiffes, to whom I must do this justice, that as soon as he discovered my intentions he joined his endeavours with mine, gave me information of their terrors and regret. To confirm them in their suspicions, I declared in public, that I had obtained such intelligence about the finances, that they would be presently regulated upon another plan; and I desired that the comptroller general, the intendant of the finances of France, the treasurer of the exchequer, and the receivers-general, should be joined with me, in order to draw up this general state of the finances, of which these very men were in such terror. I had the care, however, to keep the pen always between my own fingers.

HOWEVER, I could not this time keep myself clear of several considerable errors, nor escape being tricked by these old practitioners. I think it is no shame to confess it; this very year they gained a profit of one fifth, which is exorbitant, though infinitely less than their ordinary gains. I proposed the next year to remedy both this and another mistake which I had committed: one of the chief tricks
of

of the financiers was, to make the expence of the current year appear to be much more than the receipt, and to anticipate the revenues of the following year; by which means the expence of the next year, and of all the rest in succession, was thrown into a confusion from which these men drew many advantages, particularly that of appearing never to have money which was not pre-engaged long before, and of being able to alledge this excuse to the king, and all those whom they were not inclined to pay. In the second place, they made use of that money: and, to conclude, they paid off the old debts at a very low price, and yet charged them entire in their accounts. This negligence of mine cost the kingdom this year two millions.

THIS fault I corrected the following year, during my residence in Brittany; so that from that time forward the receipts and expences exactly agreed. And in the mean time, to fill up the deficiency which my mistake had made, I took the *parties casuelles, les gabelles*, the five great farms, and the toll of the rivers, out of the hands of the duke of Florence, who held them under the names of Gondy, Senamy, Zamet, le Grand, Parent, l'Argentier, and other old managers, who had no share in the new finances; and I increased these farms with two millions that had been lost by miscomputation. The contractors for the finances, and their associates of the council, were thunderstruck with this last blow; but for this time their spite vented itself in smoke, the king having supported me for some time in a manner so conspicuous, as sunk them all into inactive despondency. The consequence of his conduct to the assembly was, that he was made master, not only of the pretended council of reason, but likewise of his own, whose authority was now declining; and he had no longer reason to fear that his designs would miscarry, as formerly, by their obstruction.

THE design in which he was then actually engaged, was the siege of Arras, which had been proposed in the council of war, which, excepting only the secretary, consisted merely of men of action: it had there passed without opposition; but the resolution was kept secret, because only by concealment could we be assured of success. That the merchants with whom I agreed for supplies of all necessary provisions might know nothing of the matter, I named to them a great number of cities along all the frontiers of Picardy, and Arras among the rest, at any of which they obliged themselves to deliver, during the whole campaign, fifty thousand loaves a day. Santeny, Robin de Tours, Mauleville, and Lambert, chevalier de Guet d'Orleans, engaged likewise for the conveyance of every thing else, and particularly of twenty-five cannons. The contract passed at so low a price, that if the misfortune that happened at Amiens a little after, had not obliged us to draw thither the forces designed against Arras, they would have been considerable losers: but as it happened, they made a reasonable gain.



B O O K IX.

THE preparations that were making for war, did not prevent their enjoying at Paris all the amusements that winter commonly brings along with it. The gentleness of the government secured the tranquility of the public, who tasted all the sweets of it, without any of that alloy which for so long a time had embittered all their pleasures. Gallantry, shews, play, took up the time of the courtiers; and the king, who liked these diversions through taste, permitted them through policy. Monsieur and madam de Fervaques intreated me to allow of the addresses

dress'd of monsieur de Laval †, the son of this lady, to my eldest daughter. I referred them to the king, without whose consent I could not now dispose of my daughter, since it had been propos'd by the princess, to marry her to monsieur de Rohan; with whom the king being at that time offended, approved of monsieur de Laval.

THE court every day had the pleasure of a new entertainment, from engagements of this nature, the most splendid of which was given by the constable, at the solemnity of baptizing his son. This was the pretence; but it was well known, that one of the most beautiful young ladies of the court, and who was afterwards married to an old man, was the real object of these gallantries. Montmorency, amongst all the courtiers, chose out twelve noblemen for his ballet, who he thought would appear there with the greatest magnificence; and prevail'd upon the king to lay his commands upon me to be of this number. The elegance and propriety with which it was conducted, and which is the very essence of these sort of diversions, was superior to any thing I had ever seen of the kind. This entertainment was universally allow'd to have greatly excelled all that went before it: it was likewise the last, and a strange disturbance happened at the end. I retired about two in the morning, and had been an hour and a half in bed, when I saw Beringhen enter my chamber, with the utmost consternation painted in his countenance: he could but just tell me that the king wanted me; and assure me, in answer to my enquiries, that no accident had happened to his person; for this was

† William de Hautemer, count de Grancey, seigneur de Fervaques, who afterwards became a marechal of France. His wife was André d'Allegre, widow to Guy count de Laval, whose son was likewise called Guy, the twentieth of that name, count de Laval, de Mont'ort &c. who was some time after killed in Hungary: in him ended that branch of Laval, or rather of Rieux, which continued only in the female line: for this Guy count de Laval was of the house of Coligny.

the first question I asked, and his reply comforted me beforehand for the misfortune, whatever it was, since I saw none which were absolutely irremediable, but those that threatened his life. I put on my cloaths hastily, and ran to the Louvre, in great anxiety of mind: upon my entering the king's chamber, I saw him walking about very fast, his arms folded, his head reclined, and all the marks of a deep uneasiness * impressed on his countenance. The courtiers stood in different corners of the room, leaning against the hangings, without uttering a single word.

THE king coming to meet me, pressed my hand with great emotion, crying " Ah, my friend, what a misfortune! Amiens is taken. I confess, I continued immovable, like all the rest, at this unforeseen blow: a place so strong, so well provided with every thing that was necessary, so near to Paris, and on the side of Picardy the only key to the kingdom, to be taken so suddenly, ere we could be informed that it was threatened with an attack: the thing was almost incredible, and the general consternation appeared to be too well grounded. However, I took my resolution immediately, and while the king, who had received this news, as he was preparing to go to bed, related to me the manner in which the Spaniards, with some sacks of walnuts, had surprized this important place †, I reflected that, instead of

* " Being as it were thunderstruck at this, and yet looking up to heaven as he commonly does more in adversity than prosperity, he spoke aloud, This blow is from heaven! Then pausing a little said, I have sufficiently acted the part of king of France, it is time now that I assume the character of king of Navarre: and, turning to the marchioness, who wept, we must quit our present warfare, and take horse to engage in another."

† It was on the eleventh of March, Hernand Teillo de Portocarrero, a Spaniard, the author of this scheme, had disguised like country men and country women, carrying goods to market, about thirty Spaniards, who stopped up one of the gates of the town, and amused the guard, by pouring out at the entrance thereof a cart loaded with sacks full of filberts, which one of them untied; and during this time some Spanish troops, who lay concealed behind the hedges, marched up, and, putting the guard to the sword, made themselves

masters

increasing, to no purpose, the general dismay, prudence suggested that, in the present circumstance, it was necessary to keep up every one's spirits, and to comfort the king. I therefore told him that I had in good time just put the finishing hand to a scheme, by which not only Amiens, but several other places, would be restored to him without much difficulty.

THIS hint alone seemed, on a sudden, to have robbed the late misfortune of half its force; and although it did not hinder the king from reflecting on all the difficulties of an enterprize which might have very fatal consequences, yet as the astonishment the courtiers were in, left them nothing to say in answer to the king's interrogatories, but what tended to increase his disquiet, his hopes were greatly raised by what I had said, and he desired to know what methods they were by which I proposed to serve him. I replied, that he should be informed by the papers I had drawn up for that purpose; and I went out as if to fetch them, leaving the king at least in a more composed state of mind than I had found him. Had he been a witness of my perplexity and uneasiness, when I was alone in my closet, he would have suppressed part of those praises which he bestowed on me when I had quitted his chamber; for then it was, that, resigning myself up to reflection, I comprehended the whole extent of those misfortunes, which might be expected from the present posture of affairs. The king's treasure exhausted, not a single regiment fit for service, at the same time that there was an absolute necessity both for money and troops in great abundance, and that without any delay.

masters of the town. See an account of this in all the historians, under the year 1597. Hernand Teillo was killed, in bravely defending this town against Henry IV. He used to say, that the three greatest commanders he knew, were Henry for the conduct of a large army, the duke of Maienne for the siege of a town, and marechal Biron for a battle. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 232.

I READ over my private memoirs: I revolved in my mind all those schemes for levying money, which I had employed my leisure hours in concerting, foreseeing that the king would have soon an occasion for them. Most of these schemes might be reduced to two different kinds; one very easy and plain, wherein all that was necessary to be done was to augment the land-tax, and other imposts already established; the other more difficult, which consisted in contriving new sources from whence money might be drawn. The first I did not think it prudent to have recourse to, since, after all the hardships which the country people had endured, to oppress them still more by an augmentation of taxes, the sole weight of which falls upon them, and at a time when they but just began to breathe again, was to compleat the ruin of the state, and to deprive the king himself, for the future, of his most fruitful, and in one sense his most certain resources.

I THEN turned my thoughts another way, and fixed upon the following project, which was to demand of the clergy a free gift for a year, if not for two years, and oblige them to make immediate payment; to augment the old offices with new members, four in each sovereign court, besides four masters of accounts in every chamber, two in every office in the finances, two offices of counsellor in every presidial court, an assessor in every royal tribunal, and an elect in every election; to add a third to all the officers of the finances*; to keep back half a year's payment of the arrears of sums borrowed from the contractors in the last reign; to increase the tax on salt fifteen *sous* a pottle, and to leave it always in that state, because such an increase

* The offices of the finances were possessed by two persons: the first was called l'Ancien; the second, who had been appointed after, was called l'Alternatif; and this third was called Triennial, because he had every third year his rotation with the other two, who alone had the privilege of reimbursing the Triennial.

would give room for the suppression of certain offices, too chargeable to the public; to raise the entry of goods, and the tolls of rivers a third part, by a new estimate; and as all these measures gave us, for the most part, only the hope of money, to begin by borrowing twelve hundred thousand livres from the richest people of the court and principal cities, and to assign them payments out of an augmentation of the gabels and five great farms; and, to supply the ready money which we should have occasion for besides, to raise a prosecution in the chamber of justice against the old contractors, who had made considerable fortunes, and oblige them to suffer a new tax in form of a loan.

THIS plan was indeed of sufficient extent. However, it was not my intention, that these methods should be all made use of at once, but, being uncertain how long the war would continue, they might employ them successively, beginning with those that were the least burthensome. With regard to the troops that were necessary, I thought they could not do better than to raise them in those provinces of the kingdom which had no longer any occasion for defence. Thus I taxed the isle of France, by joining Berry to it, with a complete regiment; the Orleanois with Touraine was to furnish a second; and Normandy itself a third: these regiments were to consist of fifteen hundred and fifty men, furnished and maintained by the provinces, from the day of their arrival before Amiens; because these provinces enjoyed the right of calling the regiments by their own name, and of appointing the officers.

FIVE days after I carried my project to the king, with the proper evidences formally drawn up in thirteen papers. His majesty retired to examine them with me, in the presence of d'Arambure, Lomenie, Beringhen, and l'Oserai. When I had finished reading them, I told the king, that, with

these supplies, there was nothing to retard his departure for the expedition of Amiens; since all the necessary preparations for a camp in Picardy were already made in such a manner, that, I durst assure his majesty, his army would not only find there provision in great plenty, but likewise every thing requisite for mere convenience, with the same ease, and at the same price as in a city. I added, that whatever resource this scheme might afford the king in his present necessities, his majesty must not imagine it would be carried into execution, without increasing the number of those wounds of which France was far from being wholly cured: that he need only take a slight view of the immense debts and engagements with which the state was overburdened; that, to an exhausted state, a new tax, in whatever manner disguised, is always the same; therefore the war should not be renewed, but with a view of procuring an advantageous peace, which was now become absolutely necessary: and however great the public misery was at present, I was fully convinced that twelve years of continued peace would be sufficient to restore the kingdom to a flourishing condition.

I DID not doubt but that, by the conduct which the king appeared disposed to observe, the enemies, notwithstanding the advantages they had gained, would be the first to wish for the end of the war; and at that time I freely disclosed a thought to the king, the justness of which was verified by the event; and this was, that the first overtures for a peace would be made by the king of Spain, whom policy, in that state of weakness and incapacity to which the common course of nature had reduced him, would not permit to expose his crown to the uncertain chances of war, always to be feared, but chiefly in the beginning of a prince's reign who was still a child. I even went so far as to foretel, that Spain would purchase peace by the restoration of all the towns she had taken from France. My

My scheme for raising money was so much approved by the king, that he resolved to propose it himself in full council; but he communicated it beforehand to a kind of little council of war, composed of the duke of Montpensier, messieurs de Montmorency, de Maienne, d'Auvergne, de Biron, d'Ornano, de Bellegarde, de Saint Luc, de Fervaques, de Roquelaure, and de Frontenac: he afterwards summoned an extraordinary council, to which he admitted all in Paris who had a right to a place there, particularly the chief persons of the assembly of Rouen, who still resided there. The king could take no happier measures to establish his authority upon the weakness of this great assembly, which was now acknowledged by themselves. He began with lamenting the loss of Amiens, declaring the necessity there was to recover this city as soon as possible, giving in a full plan of all that was necessary for that purpose: he concluded with asking the advice of all that were present, concerning the means of carrying it into execution, complaining, in order to conceal from them what he himself had to propose, that his most useful and necessary enterprizes were always opposed by difficulties, and retarded by delays.

HERE the king stopped as if to wait for the deliberations of the assembly. Each looked upon the other without uttering a single word; at length the nobles broke silence, but it was only to refer the affairs to the financiers, who in their return replied, that it belonged wholly to the nobles. Henry urging them to deliver their opinions, some general proposals for new levies were made, which were immediately opposed by one half of the assembly; and the counsellors finding their speech all at one time, to ridicule, in a confused and disorderly manner, whatever might be offered by either party, the king seizing that moment when their animosity was carried to such a height, that there was not the least probability of their coming to any agreement, drew the

memorial out of his pocket, telling them, that, although he had but little experience in the affairs of the finances, yet, upon the present occasion, he would offer his opinion, which he was always ready to give up for a better: he then prepared to read the paper, which threw all that were present into a fixed attention, and afterwards into an astonishment, that rendered them speechless and immoveable. Henry suffered them to remain in this silence for two moments; then declaring that he understood it as an unanimous consent, added, that as he had no intention to make use of all those measures at one time, he would begin by borrowing the sum of twelve hundred thousand livres; and exhorted the nobles and wealthiest persons in the kingdom, to comply voluntarily with the present necessity of the times, and depend upon his royal word, that the lenders should have their principal reimbursed in the space of two years, together with the interest. His majesty then brought forward the fifteen *sous* upon salt, the establishment of the third man in the finances, and an enquiry into the conduct of fraudulent contractors. The affair was decreed, and a decree drawn up upon that plan. We had, in a very little time, three hundred thousand crowns voluntarily lent: the creation of the third man brought in twelve hundred thousand, and the same sum was drawn from the collectors of taxes, to whom the treasurers of France were joined, but were suffered however to tax themselves.

THE council of the finances, accustomed to rejoice in the calamity of the people, were soon comforted under these new subsidies, provided they might pass through their hands. They represented to the king, after having greatly commended his memorial, that the success of it depended upon his employing persons of great experience, ready dispatch, and possessed of a full power to execute it. The king replied, that the person he was resolved to employ

employ should be invested with his authority; and that with regard to the other qualities, he pitched upon me (I was present at this discourse) as the most industrious and most prudent amongst them, although the youngest. He expressed himself in yet stronger terms to Schomberg (whom his majesty visited just before his departure, on account of an indisposition* that confined him to his bed) and to the counsellors he found in the sick count's chamber. He told them, that as I only should bear the blame, if he was not supplied with every thing he had occasion for, while he employed himself wholly in fighting against his enemies, so he was resolved that every thing should be regulated in the council agreeable to my directions. And accordingly, before he went away, he invested me with his whole authority. This mortified Schomberg to such a degree, that he chose rather to go and serve at the siege than see me at the head of the finances. Sancy likewise left the council, to hold his rank in the army as colonel of the Swiss.

THE gentlemen of the council gave me still more reason to suspect them, of which I had a proof in the affair of the third men. After having recorded the edict by which they were created, I endeavoured to raise as much money as was possible from these offices. And to deprive the gentlemen of the council of all means of serving, at a low rate, any relation or friend, as was usual with them, I applied myself with as much assiduity to the pen, as any clerk or treasurer *des parties casuelles*; and not satisf-

* Gaspard Schomberg, count de Nanteuil. This disorder was a difficulty of breathing, that proceeded from the membrane that covers the heart becoming ossious on the left side, as also some others of the neighbouring parts; and this was found so upon opening his body after his death, which happened two years afterwards. He was employed in the making the edict of Nantes, as shall be observed hereafter; and he did many other services to the state. M. de Thou highly commends his character and abilities, both as a warrior and a statesman.

fied with using this precaution, I gave a note under my hand to each purchaser, who was obliged to carry it to the treasurer, from whom, after laying down the money, he received an acquittance, and both were to be produced to me.

ALL artifice becoming ineffectual, the contractors had recourse to a method which, doubtless, had seldom failed before; they attempted to corrupt me with bribes. Robert de Tours, a very considerable contractor, after conferring with the council, whom he had gained over to his interest, came to my house, and entreated one of my secretaries to procure him an interview with my wife, to whom he offered a jewel worth six thousand crowns as a present for me, and another worth two thousand for her, that I might not oppose a determination of the council, who had assigned to him the nomination of all the third men in the districts of Tours and Orleans, for the sum of seventy-two thousand crowns. He was introduced to me by madam de Rosny, whom, by a severe reprimand in the contractor's presence, I made sensible of the fault she had committed. Nor did I spare him, in order to prevent such attempts for the future. He left me greatly surpris'd, and probably as much offended at my behaviour. I had just been refusing, from another contractor, sixty thousand crowns, for one half of that of which he had before offered me seventy-two thousand for the whole; and that very evening, that half brought me fourscore thousand crowns, because I divided it into small parcels.

THIS employment detained me at home all that day and the following; for I thought it of more consequence than to attend the chancellor's summons, who had sent a serjeant of the council twice to me, to desire I would come thither, and finish an affair which would procure the king, he said, seventy-five thousand crowns of ready money. I went as soon as I was disengaged, without thinking any

more of Robert de Tours. The chancellor, upon my entering the council-chamber, made me some slight reproaches for my negligence: I answered him bluntly, that I had been more useful to the king, in my closet. "We have been no less so here," returned the chancellor, who sought to enhance the value of the service he had done the king, in procuring him this ready money, by the necessity his majesty was in for it, having by two letters successively, demanded some of the council. When I discovered that this was the money which had just before been offered me by the contractor of Tours, he having only added three thousand crowns more to the sum, I represented to these gentlemen, in very strong terms, that since they could not be ignorant that Robert had first applied to me, they ought not to have concluded, without my knowledge, an affair which had appeared to me unjust.

FINDING that they were endeavouring to impose upon me, partly by complaint, and partly by an air of authority, I told them plainly, that if I had been of a humour to be gained by bribes, the bargain would not have returned to them; but that since the king relied on my fidelity, I would not fail to give him every proof of it in my power. The chancellor, Fresne, and la Grange-le-roi, sensibly affected with the reproach conveyed in these words, had the assurance to mention immediately, that a bargain by which the king lost more than half of what was due to him, was, notwithstanding, more advantageous for him, since he was paid with ready money, than mine, by which I commonly allowed the purchasers the term of six months for the payment of the second moiety. They did not stop there, but reproached me with setting myself up for a reformer of the finances; and declared, with an air of contempt, that they were able to support their bargain against mine. Upon this, growing violent, the council determined that their assignment to Robert de Tours should take place. I DID

I DID not think proper to say one word more concerning this unjustifiable method of proceeding, nor upon the regulation that was made in consequence of it, which was, that thenceforward the council would have no regard to particular notes. But when Fayet, the secretary, brought me this arret to sign, I refused to do so, till I had received the king's answer to a letter, in which, as I told Fayet, I had suppressed no part of the truth, nor concealed the persons: this letter gave Fayet some apprehensions, as I designed it should; he intreated me to shew it him; and pretending to be overcome by his importunity, I yielded. It turned entirely upon the underhand practices which Robert had made use of to gain the gentlemen of the council; all which I had had the good fortune to discover. I likewise gave the king to understand, that this contractor had procured the favour of the council, by making to madam de Sourdis *, mistress to the chancellor, the same offers which I had rejected; to which he had added other presents to madam de Deully, a relation of the chancellor's, and Fresne's mistress. Fayet repeating the contents of my letter to the persons most concerned in it, they sent him back immediately, to intreat I would not send it: the arret was suppressed, and Robert's bargain rejected.

* Isabel Babou de la Bourdaifere, the wife of Francis d'Escoubleau marquis de Sourdis; she had an elder sister, called Frances, who was married to Antony d'Estrées, and mother to the fair Gabrielle; and likewise a younger sister, who married Claude de Bauvilliers, the count de Saint-Aignan. This whole family was strangely cried down and satirized in the *Amours du Grand Alcandro*, and other sarcastical libels of that time, even as far back as the grandmother of these three ladies, who was called Mary Gaudin. All the daughters of this line were remarkably beautiful. Leo. X. was so charmed with the beauty of Mary Gaudin, at Boulogne, where he had seen her, when he had a conference with Francis I. that he presented her with a diamond, called by domestic tradition Gaudin's Diamond. It is Amelot de la Houfaye who speaks so; and he has collected several such-like anecdotes of this whole family, to which I refer the curious reader, in the article *Babou de la Bourdaifere*.

IN this manner I divided my labours, between the care of receiving the money of the state, and laying it out advantageously for the necessities of the army, which wanted neither provisions nor artillery during the whole time that the siege of Amiens continued. I took a journey regularly every month to the camp, carrying with me each time fifteen hundred thousand crowns; which procured me the friendship of all the principal officers, who were not accustomed to such exact payments. I extended my cares and solicitude even to the private soldiers, by establishing an hospital in the camp, so convenient and so well attended, that several persons of quality went thither to be cured of their diseases or wounds*.

THE king's solicitude for the safety of my person, which, indeed, he almost carried to excess, more than compensated for all my trouble. Saint-Luc, to whom the count de la Guiche had resigned the post of great master of the ordnance, took me with him to see his lodgments, knowing my fondness for that part of the military art: this engaged me very far in the trenches and other places in which there was some danger. The king, being informed of it, gave me a severe reprimand, absolutely forbidding me to appear at any hazardous post; and said publicly on this occasion, that I had enemies even in the camp, who so eagerly desired my death, they would voluntarily expose themselves to any danger, provided I shared it with them. It was hardly possible for one who had been a soldier, not to feel his former ardour for war revive, near a prince who was equal to every military duty, and performed all with an application so unwearied, and courage so invincible, as might have animated hearts the least sensible to glory.

* D'Aubigné relates, that it was commonly said at that time, that Henry IV. had brought Paris with him before Amiens, to shew the abundance that reigned in his camp. And he likewise brought his mistress to Pecquigny, at which the marechal de Biron and other general officers murmured very much.

His example, however, did not produce the same effect upon all. In the very midst of his camp, a cabal of mutinous protestants was formed, headed by messieurs de la Tremouille, de Bouillon, and Du-Plessis, which gave him great uneasiness. Going to pay my respects to him, before I returned again to Paris, I found him in deep affliction: he had just received certain intelligence, that these three gentlemen, in concert with the two Saint-Germains, de Clan, and de Beaupré, d'Aubigné*, la Case, la Valliere, la Saufaie, la Bertichere, Preaux, Bassignac, Regnac, Bessais, Constant, and other protestants, to the number of twenty, had held an assembly of the whole body of protestant bigots, wherein they had made a proposal, which they supported with all the power and influence they had, to take advantage of the opportunity the siege of Amiens † afforded them, which could not be car-

* This is the historian d'Aubigné, who is always called d'Aubigny in these memoirs: his name is Theodore-Agrippa d'Aubigné: his birth, his services, and his courage, gained him great reputation among the calvinist party: he retired in 1620 to Geneva, where he died in 1631, aged fourscore, leaving behind him only one son, called Constans d'Aubigne, whose daughter was Frances d'Aubigne, the late marchioness de Maintenon. Addias de Chaumont, seigneur de la Bertichere, brother to John de Chaumont, the marquis de Guित्रy; his posterity is still extant to this day. Hector de Preaux, &c.

† It is certain, that it was by this conjuncture of the siege of Amiens, and the several steps which the calvinists of France took to make their advantage of it, that they obtained the famous edict of Nantes, which was granted them the year following. The duke de Bouillon does not deny this. All the reasons by which he justifies this conduct, may be seen in Marsolier, liv. v. but the best of all is the protest which he and Du-Plessis Mornai make, that whatever might apparently be the view of the calvinists in these assemblies at Saumur, Loudon, and Vendôme, that were called together immediately after one another, and conducted with a great deal of warmth, neither they nor the other heads of the party ever had an intention of deliberating therein upon taking up arms, but only amicably to endeavour to obtain equitable conditions. We could wish, solely for the entire justification of the duke de Bouillon, that there had not been reason to upbraid him for refusing to follow the king in his expedition to Amiens; and that the surprize of this town by the Spaniards had not been followed, on the party of the calvinists, by a translation of the protestant assembly of Vendôme to Châtelleraut, where

ried on without their assistance, to force an edict from the king entirely to their satisfaction; or, if he refused, to do themselves justice, by taking up arms against him. Happily for the king, this proposal was objected to by many persons in the assembly, as well as in some of the great towns, which they had endeavoured to draw over to their party. His majesty was a little comforted by this circumstance, but he had reason to apprehend, that the most violent party would carry it at last. He commanded me to write to some of the principal amongst them, to prevail upon them, if possible, to resume more reasonable sentiments; and particularly the duke de la Tremouille, whom he knew to be the chief promoter of the conspiracy.

HITHERTO I had preserved some degree of intimacy with la Tremouille, insomuch that he thought himself obliged to require my presence in these assemblies, but concealed the occasion of them; and in his letter to me made use of such ambiguous terms, as it was not difficult to judge, that I was considered by these gentlemen as a man unfaithful to his own party; and that la Tremouille was not far from engaging in an open rebellion. This did not hinder me, however, from taking advantage of the remaining correspondence there was between us, to endeavour to bring him back to his duty. I wrote to him in

where the proceedings were so violent, that the king was obliged to send thither M. de Schomberg, de Thou, de Vic, de Calignon, and de Montglat, who were charged with full powers to offer such conditions as sufficiently shew, that Henry IV. thought he had every thing to fear from them. The reason why the Calvinists have filled Europe with their complaints about the revocation of the edict of Nantes, is because the intervention of a space of time of upwards of fourscore years, has made them lose sight of the means they used at first to extort it. As to the above remark, consult the Memoirs of the duke de Bouillon; his Hist. by Marfolier; the Hist. of the edict of Nantes; the life of Du-Plessis Mornai; the Verbal process of the assemblies of Vendôme and Chârelleraut, &c. but especially d'Aubigné, tom. III. liv. iv. ch. 11. where he relates, at very full length, all the schemes and cabals of the calvinist party, and the new turn which they endeavoured to give their affairs.

answer, that although it were true, the king, in respect to him, was such as he imagined, there was neither honour nor greatness in extorting from him a declaration which was the effect only of necessity; but that, in reality, this prince had the same sentiments as formerly for the protestants; that he was not the cause of that injustice they suffered from the catholics, since he had equal reason to complain of them himself; that besides he should observe, that the consequence of this edict, obtained so unseasonably, would not be so advantageous for them as they imagined, since the catholics, always more powerful than they, were able to prevent it for the present; and for the future, the king, justly offended at their violent proceedings, would lose all inclination to grant them one day, voluntarily, what in so unfavourable a conjuncture they wanted to anticipate by force; and all the effect which an unsuccessful attempt would produce, would be to create a distrust of them in the catholic party, and put them upon their guard against them. I reminded Tremouille of the examples of those illustrious protestants, who, on all occasions, both by their words and conduct, shewed, that a protestant who acts conformable to his faith has the good of the state, and the true interest of his king always in view. Tremouille was so little moved with my letter, that he shewed it to every one, and made a public jest of it: but these designs, not being supported by a sufficient number of partisans, fell to the ground.

THE post of great master of the ordnance became vacant, at my fourth visit to the camp. Saint-Luc *, looking between two gabions, where, in appearance, there was scarcely room enough for a cannon-ball to enter, was unfortunately shot dead by one. The king was conversing alone with me when Villeroi and Montigny came to tell him the news, which

* Francis d'Epinaï de Saint-Luc: he is called the brave Saint-Luc. See his eulogy in Brantôme's *Vies des hommes illust.* in the article *Saint-Luc*, tom. I.

they would not impart in the presence of any other person, because of the particular designs each had on this post. I came up to the king again when they had left him, and his majesty informed me of Saint-Luc's death, and likewise that Villeroi and Montigny had first asked him for this post; the first for his son d'Alincourt, or his nephew Chateauneuf-l'Aubepine *, and Montigny for himself. Saint-Luc had genius, readiness of invention, was capable of great industry, and possessed of much personal courage; the only fault he could be charged with, was his resigning himself up too much to a lively imagination, which furnishing him with scheme after scheme, he consumed in theory great part of that time which should have been employed in practice. The king, however, thought none of the candidates capable of filling his place; d'Alincourt wanted fortitude, and, said the king, has no colour on his nails: Chateauneuf † concealed his want of real genius, under an appearance of affectation and grimaces. Montigny was, in truth, valiant, and of warm affections; but these qualities were not sufficient to entitle him to so considerable a post, as he was without expedient, order, or œconomy.

His majesty, by talking to me in this manner, appeared to me to have no other reason for hesitating whether he should bestow this post upon me, but because he thought the duties of it incompatible with those of superintendant of the finances. It was not difficult for me to undeceive him; and that instant he promised I should have it: but deferred this proof of his friendship for me, till the siege was at an end, my presence being, in his opinion, necessary at Paris; during which time he would leave the place vacant. I did not see the king all the following day, and un-

* Charles de l'Aubepine, marquis de Chateauneuf. Francis de la Grange, seigneur de Montigny.

† He was made keeper of the seals in 1630, and resigned them in 1633.

fortunately for me he saw the marchioness of Monceaux in that interval, who omitted nothing to prevail upon him to change his resolution in favour of the elder d'Estrées §, her father. The king resisted the intreaties of this lady, and even her tears, but he was not proof to her threats of throwing herself into a convent, if he refused her this favour. The fear of losing her rekindling all the ardours of his passion, she obtained the post for her father. The next day the king, with some confusion for the weakness he had shewn, informed me of what had passed; however, in one circumstance he took care of my interests, by conditioning with monsieur d'Estrées, who was utterly incapable of exercising this employment himself, that he should exchange it for the first post under the crown, which should become vacant, and absolutely resign it (if a more considerable war should happen to break out) in favour of him whom his majesty should appoint: and he again engaged his word to me, that I should be the person.

I WAS satisfied with this assurance, and returned to Paris, where a few days afterwards I received news from the camp of the death of my youngest brother, governor of Mante †, whom I had left in good health. Of four brothers his death reduced us to two. The king rejected all the applications that were made to him by several persons for the government of Mante, to bestow it without any sollicita-

§ Antony d'Estrées. " He (Saint-Luc) dying, M. d'Estrées succeeded in his place, as well deserving it, by being thoroughly instructed in the duties belonging to the post by his brave father. Thus right and truth, though they wait long, at length meet with their reward: for he was injured by not getting this place on his father's death. At the last, truth and right got the better with regard to him." Brant. *Vies de hommes illustres*, tom. I. p. 227. in the article *M. d'Estrées*.

† Solomon de Bethune, baron de Rosny, and governor of Mante. This is the third of the four brothers, of whom we have spoke in the beginning of these Memoirs: he was only six and thirty years of age when he died.

tion upon me. I received this gift by the same letter which his majesty wrote to me on occasion of my brother's death, together with the writings necessary to invest me with all the rights of my brother, who died without children. I sent Baltazar my secretary of Amiens, to procure my patent for the government, which as soon as I had received, I went to Mante to be acknowledged as governor, designing to stay there but four days.

THE gentlemen of the council, supposing my absence would be much longer, and probably followed by a resignation of my employment in the finances, were full of joy; and one of the first advantages they drew from it, was to take proper measures for appropriating to themselves part of those sums destined for the siege of Amiens. They all signed a letter to his majesty, written in the name of the council, in which they represented to him that, having been supplied with every thing that was necessary for the siege during five months, his majesty could not be surprized to hear that his funds were quite exhausted, having nothing remaining but some bad arrears and assignments of payment. Henry, who knew not that I was at Mante, and who, by an effect of his ordinary vivacity, had not examined the signatures of this letter, was so much the more surprized at it, as I had positively assured him that I was able to furnish him with the usual sums for four months longer, which was all the time the siege was expected to last. He exclaimed in very severe terms against the gentlemen of the council, in the presence of the chief officers of his army; nor for this once was I spared any more than the rest: but after a moment's reflection, casting his eyes upon the names subscribed to this letter, among which he did not see mine, and learning from the courier that I was at Mante, he condemned himself immediately for his too precipitate anger; and that the reparation he made me might be complete,

he read my answer to the letter he wrote to me on this occasion, in the presence of the same persons.

His interest indeed required that he should remove their apprehensions. A siege so extremely laborious had sometimes discouraged both them and their soldiers to such a degree, than an absolute desertion would have been the consequence of his treasure being exhausted, since, upon the least delay of the remittances, the king could not hinder many from leaving him. All went on well to the end; if the besieged defended themselves with vigour, and made sallies upon sallies, they were attacked with the same spirit, and were always defeated.

THE sap was carried as far as the ramparts, and the besiegers had just taken possession of two casemates, which they rendered useless to the besieged, when the cardinal-archduke, with the count of Mansfield, who served under him in quality of lieutenant-general, thought it time to make an effort to prevent the reduction of the place: they marched towards it with an army consisting of between twelve and thirteen thousand foot, and two or three thousand horse, and passed the river of Authie, with an intention to offer the king's forces battle, or at least to throw a considerable supply into Amiens. All that endeavoured to enter were driven back †.

† Perefex relates this fact very differently. "The archduke, says he, came and lay before the quarter called Longpré, on the 15th of September, at two in the afternoon, when no-body expected him. He might have easily thrown three thousand men into Amiens; so great was the consternation which was spread in the camp. Henry, doubting of the success of that day, spoke out aloud, O Lord (at the same time leaning upon the pommel of his saddle, with his hat in his hand, and his eyes lifted towards heaven) if 'tis to-day that thou intendest to punish me, as my sins deserve, I offer up my life a sacrifice to thy justice, spare not the guilty; but, O Lord, for thy great mercy's sake, pity this poor kingdom, and chastise not the flock for the errors and faults of the shepherd. When he saw nothing appearing, he withdrew dissatisfied, said he gallantly, with the courtesy of the Spaniards, who would not advance one single step to receive him, and who, with a bad grace, refused the honour which he offered them." Perefex, part 2. Most part of the

The king went himself to reconnoitre the enemy's army: he had a full view of it; and notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, finding them a confused and disorderly multitude, without discipline or conduct, resolved to attack them; but at the first motion he made, the archduke retreated with precipitation ||: probably it would not have been impossible to have forced the Spaniards to a battle, and to have beat them without discontinuing the siege: at least Henry was always of this opinion. Nevertheless he yielded to the advice of the greatest number, who were for allowing the archduke to retreat. After this they applied themselves closely to the siege. The ravelin having been carried away, and the body of the place beginning to be sapped, Amiens surrendered the latter end of September this year, which had been almost wholly employed in this siege.

WHEN I look upon the great number of letters which I received from the king during the expedition of Amiens, I cannot help being surprized that

the historians agree, that the Spaniards let slip one of the finest opportunities they ever had, of beating the king's army: and this prince said himself afterwards, that some of his chief officers told him all was now lost. Matthieu, tom. 2. liv. ii. p. 234.

|| The king said of the cardinal arch-duke, that he came on like a captain, but went off like a priest. La Curée very earnestly desired of the king, that he would be pleased to let him go and discover the posture of the enemy's army, putting his majesty in mind, that the Spaniards had entered France four times, and that he had every time attacked them, and was the first who had beaten them. Henry made answer, M. La Curée don't be in a hurry; and at the same time he gave him leave. La Curée was much spoke of upon this occasion for his valour, and the noble retreat he made before this army encamped at Betancourt, four leagues from Amiens. However, he afterwards said, upon this occasion, that when three or four hundred men retreat in this manner before a whole army, it is only the fault of that army, if they are not cut off. He was an undaunted man: for one day he flung himself into the midst of the enemy, when by his hand being numbed with holding his pistol, he could not use his sword. There were even women dressed like men, who fought in the French army: four among them were very remarkable, who distinguished themselves in taking prisoners with their own hands, and one especially, who went under the name of captain Gascon. These particulars are taken from vol. 8929 of the king's MSS. See also on this head, tom. vi. des Mémoires de la Ligue, in which are given very high commendations of the spirit, alertness, and valour of Henry IV.

a prince, who had the operations of a great siege upon his hands, and the care of a whole camp, should yet be so attentive to all affairs within his kingdom, and with equal facility and equal diligence acquit himself of such opposite employments. I shall spare the reader the trouble of perusing all these letters, as likewise those which his majesty did me the honour to write to me afterwards. I reckoned above three thousand, without taking in those that I have neglected to preserve, or have been lost through the carelessness of my secretaries. It would be too tedious to give a particular account of each: some of them I suppress in obedience to his majesty's orders, as they regarded persons whose reputation he had no desire to wound, and whom I have doubtless more reason to avoid offending, as I should do by revealing intrigues of state, or merely gallantry, which have still continued secret: as for the rest, they turned wholly upon accounts, application of particular sums, payments, pensions, and other things of the same nature, all of which were so dry and unentertaining, that they afford new matter for praises of this prince.

WITH regard to his finances, for example, he was so extremely exact as to make me give him an account once a week, of the money received, and the uses it had been put to †. He does not miss a remark that, in casting some cannon, they wanted to rob him of a piece. In a remission of six or seven thousand crowns which he was obliged to grant the people upon the land-taxes, he settles himself the gratification that ought to be repaid to certain parishes which had suffered most. He calculated exactly the number of the offices that were sold, and the money arising from thence. He never forgot any person to whom the state was indebted, or who had done it any service, either in the distant provinces or the neighbouring kingdoms, assigning

† A hundred crowns could not be expended, says Perfixe, but he knew whether they were well or ill laid out.

with the utmost discernment a particular fund for all. His great care was, that the fund appointed for the support of the war should not be broken in upon by any other payment, as appears when he mentions a recompence to be given to the sieur de Vienne, who had brought back the city of Tour to its obedience, or the repayment of four thousand crowns that he had borrowed of madam de Beaufort.

THE number of his letters relating to his military affairs are prodigious. He calculated so justly the sums necessary for the making of trenches and other works, together with the soldiers pay, that there was no danger of a mistake in following him. The order he observed in the march of his troops was not regulated with less prudence, than that of the convoys of money which came to his camp, that the one might not be retarded, nor the other intercepted.

ALL this made up but one part of his cares. The letter wherein he speaks of the repairs of Montreuil, Boulogne, and Abbeville; those in which he expatiates upon the method of maintaining regularity in the provinces, obedience in the cities, subordination in the different bodies, on occasion of the chamber of accounts which had failed in the respect they owed him; that in which he says, "I would not mix the expences of masquerades with these destined for the use of my army;" for Mortier, who had provided dresses for a masque, had caused the money laid out on that occasion to be inserted in a memorial of military expences; that also which contained his reply to the offer which the city of Paris made him by her mayor and aldermen, to support, at their own expence, twelve hundred men, in consideration of which service, he discharged this city from paying the aids a second time, and many other of this kind; all these shew, that the same hand that was able to draw up a plan of attack, was equally capable of conducting the affairs of the cabinet.

THE only thing he neglected was his personal

maintenance; to make him think of it, Montglat, the first steward of his household, was forced to inform him, as he tells us in some of his letters, that he could scarce make the pot boil any longer. He was not ashamed to confess a thing which affected his domestic enemies only; it was their part to blush that he was destitute of apparel, arms, and horses: however, he afterwards found means to settle a fund for his own subsistence, which could not be confounded with any other; it was the mark of gold arising from the offices which were sold, that he destined for this use. Such were the subjects of many of the letters he wrote me this year, from which the reader may judge of those of the following years, the originals of which I keep with the utmost care, but shall only transcribe the most important amongst them. It is remarkable, that although there are a great number of them, and almost all very long, there are few however, that are not written with his own hand, and particularly those which are directly addressed either to the council or me §.

I WAS present at the council which was held after the surrender of Amiens, upon the operations of the rest of the campaign. These propositions were made: to follow the enemy's army, seize some cities of Artois by surprize, and besiege Dourlens † in form: upon which each one that was present gave his opinion; mine was, that it could not be expected the cardinal infant, who had so obstinately

§ I observed in the preface the reasons that induced me not to transcribe here so many letters. They may be seen at the head of the new collection of Henry le Grand's: the originals of some of them are at this day to be seen in the fine museum of the duke de Sully, with marginal notes written by Maximilian de Bethune's own hand. But the most valuable pieces in this cabinet, besides a considerable number of original letters of Henry the III. and other cotemporary princes, are papers of state, letters, serious or gay pieces, and other fragments, writ by Henry le Grand's own hand, and by his chief ministers, or only signed or marked in the margin by them. We have already spoken of those that concern the accommodation of the admiral de Villars, and other governors and towns, especially in Normandy: we shall have occasion in the sequel to mention particularly some others.

† A city of Picardy.

refused to fight, when he had no other way of succouring Amiens, should suffer himself to be obliged to come to an engagement now, when he was sensible he should have all the king's forces to encounter, and had had sufficient time to take measures to avoid it; nor was it more probable, that the enterprises upon the cities of Artois should succeed, in the neighbourhood of so numerous an army: yet that either of these designs appeared to me more judicious than the project of laying a siege to Dourlens, since that in fifteen days we might know what was to be expected from the former, and incur no shame by failing in them; whereas, by following the latter, we would infallibly have the regret to find that we had consumed a great deal of time, money, and troops, to no purpose. It was resolved, that the two first measures should be suddenly attempted, without renouncing the siege of Dourlens. The Spaniards kept upon their guard, and the French gained no other advantage by this attempt, than the honour of having endeavoured to finish the war by a single action, which contributed as much as all the rest, to make the king of Spain desirous of peace.

It was quite the reverse with the enterprise of Dourlens, upon which they were obstinately bent. The king sent me at Paris, whither I had now returned, his last resolutions on that head. I did not scruple to represent to him, in terms still stronger, the reasons that had hindered me from approving that proposal; that his army, having suffered considerably at the siege of Amiens, was not in a condition to undertake a second equally laborious, in the month of October, a season when the ground about Dourlens, which is naturally fat and viscous, was made impracticable by the rains, and within sight of an army eager to seize an occasion of being revenged. The king did not take my freedom amiss, though he was not convinced by my reasons. He wrote to me in answer, that the expedition of Dour-

lens was absolutely necessary for the preservation of Amiens and Abbeville: that by putting Picardy in a state of security, he should facilitate the sale of the new offices; and that he would take such measures, that the siege should not continue so long as I apprehended.

ACCORDINGLY Dourlens was invested the ninth of October, and on the thirteenth, the rains had so much spoiled the ground and the roads, that the works could not be brought forward. Villeroy informed me in a letter, that they already repented of their attempt: in effect, the king set out almost immediately after, from his quarters at Beauval, and came to Belbat, where he gave orders for raising the siege, at which the soldiers had suffered so much during the short time it had lasted, that they were upon the point of disbanding. The king caused them all to be paid, placed them in winter-quarters upon the frontier, left his light horse there, retrenched part of the garrison, which the surprizing of Amiens had obliged him to throw into the neighbouring places; and set forward for Paris, to spend the winter there, taking his rout through Rouen and Monceaux, where he staid eight days.

FROM this place he sent me orders to over-rule the difficulties which the chancellor de Chiverny raised in parliament, to erect his country of Armagnac and LoStoure into a presidial; and to assign the money arising from it to the payment of costs granted in parliament to the sieur de Fontrailles, count of Armagnac, in a suit which he had carried in that court against his majesty. As the princess might have some claims upon this money, by virtue of the cession her brother designed to make her of all his estates in this province, the king desired me to keep the matter secret, and use the same precautions with Fontrailles and the chancellor, the last of whom observed this command very ill; but his indiscretion had no bad consequence, the princess leaving
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the court of France a short time after. In the same letter, the king ordered me to pay Demeurat his solicitor at Riom, as likewise la Corbiniere, who was employed to furnish provisions for the troops that were left in Picardy. It was in these intervals from business, that he extended his attention to the most inconsiderable objects. He made me give the fleur de Piles, an old faithful servant, a reward of three thousand crowns, and another of eight thousand livres to Gobelin, to whom, at the same time, he repaid sixteen thousand livres, advanced by him for the support of his household. There was no name, even to that of the poor woman who gathered the taxes at Gisors, which was not mentioned somewhere in his letters.

THE poverty of the people †, which was indeed excessive, having produced many blanks in the receipts for the taxes, the king suspected that the gentlemen of the council, who were very zealous in representing and exaggerating these deficiencies, would find means, when they had obtained a discharge for the people, to put large sums in their own pockets, by concealing the discharge that had been granted; he ordered me first to get information, whether the people were as much behind hand in the years 1594 and 1595, as those gentlemen had made him believe; which would easily be done, by examining the accounts of receipts and expences given in by the general and particular receivers, and by visiting the courts of the same provinces, whither I was already gone; and secondly, to examine whether this deficiency of the taxes did not proceed from idleness in the collectors, and disobedience in the people.

To conclude, his majesty began to busy himself at Monceaux with another matter of importance,

† Bougars, describing in his letters the desolation which the civil wars had caused in the kingdom, assures us, amongst other things, that the highways were so over-run with briars and thorns, that their track could not but with much ado be discovered. Epist. 73. ad Camera.

that of drawing up articles, on which he desired to come to an agreement with the protestants. This work he pressed for some time upon the chancellor and Villeroy: I was likewise ordered to engage in it; but he would have had reason to complain a long time of the little attention which those men paid to his design, if he had not come himself to Paris to put it in execution †.

FOR these two last affairs concerning the financiers and the protestants more leisure was necessary than the king, upon his arrival at Paris, was able to afford them. He was obliged to turn his thoughts upon making new preparations for passing the following spring into Brittany, where the rebels, finding themselves out of the view of their sovereign, continued; with impunity, in disorder and disobedience. The duke of Mercœur, who was at their head, durst not, however, openly favour their revolt; on the contrary, the letters he wrote to the king were filled with seeming tokens of submission; and during the space of two years, it had been his whole study to amuse him with feigned proposals which he knew how to evade fulfilling. The king, on his side, had constantly dissembled with the duke, and hitherto contented himself with favourably receiving the officers of this province, who, weary of Mercœur's delays, addressed themselves directly to his majesty: but at length, the king thinking it time to go and attack this rebellious subject, even at his own doors ‡,

† He said to a deputation of the townsmen, who came to compliment him after the expedition to Amiens, shewing them the marechal de Biron, "Here, gentlemen, is the marechal de Biron, whom I freely present both to my friends and enemies." *Peres*, part 2.

‡ One of the duke de Mercœur's friends having asked him one day, if ever he dreamed of being duke of Brittany, he made answer, "I know not whether it be a dream, but it has lasted these ten years and upwards." The duchess de Mercœur's grandmother was Charlotte the heiress of the house of Penthievre, whose pretended rights to the duchy of Brittany were apparently the foundation of those of the duke de Mercœur.

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this design, which was carried on with the utmost secrecy, employed us during the whole winter.

It would have answered no purpose to have undertaken it without a body of twelve hundred foot, and two thousand cavalry, and a train of artillery, consisting of twelve cannons at least; and it was not possible to draw out these troops from the six thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, which his majesty thought necessary for the defence of the frontier of Picardy, and which he had committed to the care of the constable, assisted by the counsels of messieurs Bellièvre, Villeroi, and Sillery. New funds were to be found for the support of all these troops; the taxes could not possibly be increased otherwise than by lessening the costs of the collection, which is with respect to the king a real increase. I likewise applied myself to collect the debts that were in arrear, and to recover such as were neglected; to which I joined some new imposts, few in number, and not oppressive.

THE king, without these supplies, would have been obliged to have listened to proposals for a peace, and could not then have concluded one, but upon terms very advantageous to Spain. Pope Clement the eighth, desired it with great ardour; and, long before the campaign of Picardy, had sent the cardinal of Florence †, in quality of legate, to propose it to the king; at the same time Calatagironne ‡, patriarch of Constantinople, went by his holiness's orders to Spain for the same purpose. The negotiation had been unfortunate in the beginning. The king more irritated than discouraged by the invasion of Amiens, only answered the cardinal haughtily, that he would defer hearing what he had to propose, till after he had regained this place. The king of Spain, on the other hand, although it was with regret that he beheld the war renewed, yet founded great hopes upon

† Alexander de Medicis.

‡ Father Bonaventure de Calatagironne, general of the order of Saint Francis.

his success in Flanders, and particularly upon having surprized the city of Amiens, the possession of which might draw along with it that of all the neighbouring country from the Oise to the Seine.

THE expeditions of the campaign being more favourable to the French, drew both sides nearer an accommodation. Philip knew Henry to be a prince with whom it was as difficult to keep as to gain advantages, and having besides a foreboding in his own mind, that the illness he was seized with would be mortal, the fear of leaving at his death the prince his son exposed to such an enemy as the king of France, induced him to listen to the advice of Calatagironne, who when he was assured of the king's inclinations, returned to Rome to acquaint the pope with them, and was by his holiness again deputed to France, to give the cardinal of Florence an account of his success, and act in concert with him.

ACCORDINGLY their eminences renewed their former solicitations with Henry, and often represented to him, that the peace, in some measure, depended wholly upon him. The king, who was undeceived in his turn, and no longer influenced by those great and flattering hopes, which, through a reliance upon the promises of his courtiers, he had entertained, saw the return of the two negotiators with pleasure: though he appeared indifferent to their proposals, at length he told them, that he would not be against a peace, provided Spain would give up all she possessed in his dominions. The legates hinted, that this might possibly be obtained. And the king replied, that upon this plan he permitted them to treat and conclude a peace with the three ministers he had left in Picardy, to whom he referred them; in the mean while, that he might not lose the advantage of those preparations he had made for war, nor waste time so precious in mere negotiations, he set out for Brittany.

THE king took his rout through Angers, in
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the beginning of March, ordering his army to follow him by short journeys; he permitted his council likewise to attend him, but not till it had made the necessary dispositions for supplying his army in Brittany, and the troops and commissioners for the peace in Picardy, with all things that were needful. As I now had the absolute direction of the council, and met with no opposition whatever, I quickly put matters in such a state as I thought I might join the king without any bad consequence. I expected to have found him already far advanced in Brittany, and was greatly surprized to hear, as I drew near Angers, that the king had not left that city. The duke of Mercœur must have been infallibly ruined, but for the service he received from mesdames * de Mercœur and de † Martigues upon this occasion: they began with obtaining, by the interest of the marchioness de Monceaux, a passport to meet the king at Angers ‡; where, as soon as they arrived, they intirely gained over the king's mistress to their party. The duchess of Mercœur § offered her only daughter to be disposed of in marriage to whomsoever the king thought proper, hinting to the marchioness, that she would not be against marrying this opulent heiress to her son Cæsar ||. The marchioness of Monceaux was so agreeably flattered by this alliance, that from that moment, considering the duke of Mercœur's interests as her own, she solicited

* Mary de Luxembourg, daughter to Sebastian de Luxembourg, duke of Penthièvre and viscount de Martigues, was wife to Philip Emanuel de Lorraine, duke de Mercœur.

† Mary de Beaucaire, daughter to John, seigneur de Peguillon, widow of Sebastian de Luxembourg, and another to the duchess de Mercœur.

‡ They had come thither before the king, but were refused entrance; upon which they withdrew to Pont de Cé, till the king arrived at Angers.

§ Frances de Lorraine.

|| "The espousals were celebrated at Angers with the same magnificence as if he had been a lawfully begotten son of France: he was but four years of age, and she but six." Peres. 2d part.

for him with the utmost ardour and assiduity: the two ladies likewise employed every art to soften a prince remarkable for his complacency to the sex. He suffered himself to be disarmed by their submissions, promises, and tears, and no longer thought of chastising the duke of Mercœur.

THE moment I alighted at Angers I went to pay my respects to the king. This prince, who by the first word I uttered, and the turn only of my countenance, comprehended all I had in my mind, embraced me closely in his arms, and pressing me to his bosom, "My friend," said he to me, "you are welcome; I am truly glad to see you here, for I have had great need of you." "And I, sire," I replied (incapable of those mean compliances that are dictated by flattery) "am greatly grieved to find you still here." "It is long," said the king, interrupting me, "that we have learned to understand each other by half a word; I guess already what you would say to me; but if you knew what has passed, and to what a forwardness I have already brought affairs, you would alter your opinion." I replied, that those advantages, whatever they were, which he meant, he might have obtained, and many far more considerable, if, instead of stopping at Angers, he had presented himself before Nantes, at the head of his army. The king endeavoured to excuse himself upon the want of instruments proper for the siege of the city. I answered, that he would have had no occasion for them, because Nantes would have rendered them unnecessary by a surrender, and perhaps have delivered * the duke of Mercœur into his hands. The first of these

* All the historians agree, that Henry IV. was in a condition to have made the duke de Mercœur smart for his disobedience: he would never suffer that this duke should send him any person in his name to Vervins; and protested that he would rather endure a continual war, than consent that one of his subjects should seem to treat with him thus like a foreign prince.

things it was highly probable would have happened, and the king acknowledged he believed so. After this confession I added, "It is true, I do not find the bravery of my prince in this instance, but I shall say nothing, because I know what it was that withheld you." With this prince, I was not apprehensive my sincerity would have any bad consequences. He confessed all to me, though with some little confusion, alledging as an excuse his compassion for those who were in a state of humiliation, and the fear of disobliging his mistress.

AFTER this the conversation turned wholly upon news: his majesty had just received letters from the queen of England, expressing her desire of sending an ambassador to him, to induce him, as we imagined with great probability, to continue the war. By other letters, from Bellièvre and Sillery, he was informed, that the legates had offered, in the name of Spain, to restore all the cities, except Cambray, that had been taken during the war. The king's carrying troops into Brittany, without being under a necessity of leaving Picardy defenceless, had given great surprize to Spain, and satisfaction to the court of London, ever solicitous to humble the pride of that crown. I advised Henry not to refuse a peace for the sake of a single city, and to be satisfied with having driven the enemy out of Picardy and Brittany.

THIS latter province, which had panted for tranquility a long time, was sensible how much it owed to his majesty, whose presence at the head of an army was the only thing that could procure them that happiness. The party of Mercœur became the king's party. The Spaniards were not in a condition to hold out long against their united forces. Blavet * and Douarnenes, where they were cantoned in the greatest numbers, could not fail of yield-

* Blavet is now called Port-Louis, and lies in the bishopric of Vannes: Douarnenes is another port and road, in the bishopric of Quimpers.

ing soon to the common lot, and a few days were sufficient to clear the province entirely of its foreign enemies, who afterwards assembled her states, in order to prove her gratitude to the king, by granting him a considerable subsidy. His majesty commanded me to continue my rout to Brittany, and while I waited there for his arrival, to pay the troops, and quarter them in caserns in the neighbourhood of Rennes and Vitré, with strict orders to keep up an exact discipline there: after which I was to go to Rennes, to represent his majesty's person in the states, to hasten their resolutions concerning the sums that were promised, and use all my authority to facilitate the levying it. The king having an inclination to stay some days longer at Angers, laid hold of the pretence, that something was still wanting to the treaty with the duke of Mercœur.

I HAD no reason to be offended with the duchess of Mercœur for having endeavoured to procure the most favourable conditions she could, yet I so far resented her making the king the dupe of her arts, that if his majesty had not obliged me to make her a visit, I would have left Angers without seeing her; although I was related to this lady by the same side by which I had the honour to be allied to the royal family, that is, by the house of Luxembourg*.

THE king remonstrated to me, that if the consideration of being related to her, together with the laws of politeness, were not sufficient to induce me to pay her this respect, yet the duchess of Mercœur deserved it on account of that regard she had for me, which the knowledge of my intentions could not alter. In effect, I was received by her and madam de Martigues with the highest distinction and respect. Madam de Mercœur, after some gentle reproaches for having endeavoured to hurt her interest, and that of her daughter, my little kinswoman, told me, that

† Jane de Bethune, daughter to Robert, the sixth ancestor to M. de Sully, was married to John de Luxembourg.

there was nothing she so ardently desired, as to be able to put the affairs of the duke her husband into my hands, that I might conclude this treaty with the king in whatsoever manner I thought fit. I answered the duchess, that while my respect and adherence to her were not inconsistent with the service of the king, which always carried me against any other consideration, she should find nobody more disposed to serve her than myself.

I WENT to Château-Gonthier that evening, and reached * Vitré the next day, where I saw but too plainly of what importance it was to be extremely cautious and circumspect in quartering troops, that nothing might be neglected. Messieurs de Salignac and de Mouÿ, marechals de camp, were of great use to me on this occasion. Tranquility was so perfectly established in all this part of the country, that the countrymen who at first had retreated to the woods, and fortified themselves there, where every moment they were ready to come to blows, now returned to their houses; and the city of Rennes thought that some acknowledgment was due to me: for this reason, when the states were assembled, a fine apartment was prepared for me during my abode in that city, at the house of mademoiselle de la Riviere: she was a woman of wit and gallantry, who being always looking out for pleasures for herself, was the fitter for the commission with which she was charged, of engaging me in all the entertainments which are commonly found in cities like Rennes, opulent and polite. If the life of a minister was to be at all times like that which I led in this city, and which lasted almost six weeks, it would have in reality all those charms which are falsely attributed to it. I had no other employment than being present at the assembly of the states, who, with all possible gratitude, agreed to the service the king required of them, and granted him, without

* In Anjou.

any opposition, eight hundred thousand crowns; of which one hundred was to be paid the first month, as much the second, and afterwards two hundred each month, till the whole was paid. To furnish this sum, a tax was created of four crowns upon a pipe of wine. The assembly were desirous of adding a present of six thousand crowns to me, which I refused, without examining whether this was among the number of those occasions when I might have been permitted to have accepted a present. The king, to whom the merit of my disinterestedness had been highly exaggerated, and who had himself bestowed more praises on my conduct in the assembly, than it deserved, was resolved, that the expence of a present to me should be his, and instead of six, gave me ten thousand crowns. During six and twenty years, which I had spent in his majesty's service, I had never received so considerable a gift. On this occasion there was a kind of generous contest betwixt the king and the province of Brittany; which at last obtained, that these ten thousand crowns should be added to the eight hundred thousand the assembly had offered his majesty.

THE treaty with the duke of Mercœur being completed, the king sent it to the chamber of accounts at Rennes to be registered. As some private articles in this treaty were not expressed, the court thought it had a right to refuse registering it, without certain restrictions with respect to these articles. Henry, who knew better than any other prince in the world how far the power of these sovereign courts extended, and always appeared careful not to make the least encroachment upon it, resented this refusal with becoming spirit; and, together with the dispatches which I received from him regularly every day, he sent me an order in writing for the chamber of accounts, in which he observed, that this court could not be ignorant, that in all treaties or acts relating merely to war or the king's person, the sovereign of
France

France took counsel with no person, nor demanded his letters to be registered but as a formality, which otherwise was little essential; he reproved them for their rash conduct, and ordered them to repair their disobedience by an absolute submission to his will.

THE king did not shew less firmness on another occasion that likewise regarded the sovereign courts. These bodies assumed the privilege of furnishing immediately but half of the sum which the assembly had taxed them for their contingent, and endeavoured to take a more convenient and more distant time for the payment of the rest: they made the same difficulties about their share of the necessary contributions for the maintenance of those troops which they had demanded themselves. Henry easily comprehended, that they would not have had recourse to this artifice, but to avoid contributing any thing, as soon as he had quitted the province: therefore, he sent me word, that it was his will they should furnish the whole tax; which was done accordingly. Their murmurs on account of paying the troops ceased, as soon as they were convinced that the tranquility of their province depended upon this regulation, and they were the first after that to approve of my conduct.

THESE several orders were sent to me from Nantes, to which place the king had advanced, after the treaty with the duke of Mercœur had been agreed upon, to attend to two affairs of importance, namely, the edict for the protestants, and the reception of the two ambassadors from England and Holland. His majesty, believing his presence in Picardy was necessary to forward the peace, intended to have left Nantes in a month's time, without taking a journey to Rennes, which he had looked upon as useless; and had already given orders for the march of the five regiments of Navarre, Piedmont, the Isle of France, Boniface, and Bréauté, which he drew out of Brittany, to fortify the frontier of Flanders. The
king

king having informed me of his design with respect to these regiments, I represented to him, that the probability of a peace being now changed to an absolute certainty, it was necessary to disband part of his troops, and lessen the number of his garrisons, as being a burden too heavy for the kingdom to support, and that two of those regiments were now sufficient for Picardy; accordingly, only the two first were sent thither, under the conduct of the marechal de Brissac. I even insisted so much upon the necessity there was for his majesty to shew himself at least in the capital of Brittany, that the king, altering his scheme, resolved to come and spend some days there before his return to Paris; and for that purpose, to dispatch, as soon as possible, those two affairs that detained him at Nantes.

It was now become more necessary than ever, to regulate that concerning the protestants: these people assumed such a licentiousness of tongue in France, that the king himself did not escape the rage and malignity of their invectives. The remonstrances his majesty had made to the authors of the plot before mentioned, were so far from bringing them back to their duty, that, in appearance, it served only to make them use their utmost efforts to bring the whole protestant party in their several synods †, to the most violent resolutions: madam de Rohan did not scruple to cabal with many of them, in order to carry, by a plurality of voices, the proposal of taking up arms, and forcing the king to receive such conditions as they should prescribe to him; in which attempt she was seconded, with surprizing assiduity, by d'Aubigné, remarkable for his satirical turn, and propensity to slander ‡. It was he who in those as-

† At Shumur, Loudon, Vendôme, and Châtelleraut; of these we have spoke before, on occasion of the cabals of the protestant party during the siege of Amiens.

‡ He is supposed to be the author of the Confession of Sancy, the Adventurers of the baron de Fœneste, and other lampoons.

semblies had the assurance to mention, that they ought no longer to place any confidence in a prince who, together with his religion, had abjured every sentiment of his affection, good-will, and gratitude, for the protestants, that nothing but necessity forced him to apply to them and treat them with regard; that when this was over, he would have no longer any care about their consciences, liberties, or lives; that the peace with Spain, which was upon the point of being concluded, would plunge the party into the utmost distress, since the sole motive that induced Henry to consent to it, was to unite himself with that crown and the pope, to sacrifice them to their common hatred; and therefore, that nothing remained to be done, but to take advantage of the king's perplexity during so toilsome a siege †, the distress he was in for money, the need he had of their assistance, and the power which the duke of Mercœur still possessed in Brittany, to obtain by force what Henry would afterwards refuse to grant them.

To incite the members of these assemblies to a revolt, the protestants thought the blackest calumnies were lawful. D'Aubigné was not ashamed to represent Henry there, as a prince to whom all religions || were indifferent, and who was only zealous for that which would secure him a throne §. This was the notion he wanted to give of his con-

† The siege of Amiens.

|| M. de Sully is very much to be commended for sacrificing to the love of truth all interest and consideration for a party, as he does here, and in a thousand other places of his Memoirs, especially as he is so strongly attached to his religion; which he has always shewn: but in every one of these passages he furnishes us with very strong weapons against himself: and after having laid open, in this manner, the designs and the spirit by which the whole body of the reformed in France were actuated, there is no person but will agree, that the state had reason to apprehend every thing from them.

§ "There are three things," said Henry IV. "which the world is very unwilling to believe; and yet, for all that, they are still true and most certain; namely, that the queen of England died a maid; that the archduke is a great general; and that the king of France is a very good catholic." Journal de l'Etoile, p. 233.

version.

versation. According to him, the supposed injuries offered to the protestants left no room to doubt of the new system of politics that Henry had formed for himself. Those injuries opened d'Aubigné a vast field for exclamation; the least of them were represented as outrages of the most violent nature, and instances of the deepest treachery; and thus, without any regard to the extreme injustice he was guilty of, he placed to the king's account all those hardships which proceeded solely from the catholics or the court of Rome. The duke of Bouillon, leaving others to declaim, supported d'Aubigné, by his uncommon dexterity in sowing division between the king and all that came near him, whether catholics or protestants, and created him sufficient employment, that he might not for a long time be at liberty to turn his arms against him. The taking of † Mende by Fosseuse, and the fitting out of the count d'Auvergne, were the consequence of these counsels.

NONE of these persons neglected to make their court to the ambassadors from England and Holland, as soon as they arrived at Nantes; and depended so much the more upon drawing them into their schemes, as they were not ignorant, that it was particularly recommended to them to prevent a peace with Spain. These ambassadors were, Lord Cecil †, secretary to queen Elizabeth, and Justin de Nassau, admiral of the Republic: they demanded a private audience of the king; or, if that could not be obtained, at least to have no one present but Lomenie and me. But I was then employed at Rennes.

IF the two ambassadors had given credit to the protestants, all they had to do was to intimidate the king, and force him by menaces to come into their

† In the Givaudan.

‡ This was not the secretary himself, whose name was William, but his son Robert. De Thou, liv. cxx. See likewise Chronol. Septennaire for the year 1598, concerning this interview of Henry IV. with the English and the Dutch ambassadors.

designs; but either this was not in their power, or being convinced of the protestants injustice, they thought it beneath them to be influenced by their passions; and therefore took no notice to the king of what they had suggested. They had indeed offers to make that were much more likely to prevail with a prince, whose inclination for war they were not ignorant of: the English ambassador offered, in the name of the queen his mistress, six thousand foot and five hundred horse, to be maintained at her expence; and Nassau four thousand foot, and a large train of artillery completely furnished and supplied, besides a particular supply, which they hinted would be very considerable, provided Henry would endeavour to retake Calais and Ardres. Upon the supposition that the king appeared inclined to accept these offers, the two ambassadors had orders to conclude a treaty of alliance immediately between France, England, and the Low-Countries, against Spain, and to stipulate that neither of these three powers should listen to any proposal, either for a truce or treaty with the common enemy, but with the consent of the two others.

HAPPILY the king escaped this dangerous snare; and the consideration of the present state of his kingdom had more weight with him than all others. He thanked the ambassadors with great politeness, and introduced his answer by assuring them that, although he could not accept the offers of their sovereigns, yet he would not depart from that friendship which had so long subsisted between them; and that the peace he was going to conclude with Spain (for he did not conceal the terms he was upon with Philip) should not hinder him from keeping up the same correspondence with them as before, nor from supplying them with money, when they had occasion for it, with this only precaution, that these loans were taken under the title of acquittances of debts, to give no pretence for a quarrel with Spain.

HE afterwards, with the same sincerity, explained to them all his reasons for putting an end to the war. His kingdom, he told them, was not like England and Holland, secured by nature from the attacks of her enemies, but open on all sides; his castles unfortified, and destitute of ammunition; his marine weak, his provinces laid waste, and some of them reduced to mere desarts. He went on to give a more particular description of the abuses that had crept into the government, and introduced a thousand disorders; all subordination being destroyed by the licentiousness that had been practised with impunity amidst the confusion of civil and foreign wars; his power weak, and unstable, and the royal authority, as well as the most sacred laws of the state, equally disregarded. These evils could only be remedied by a peace; and if that remedy was ever so little delayed, France was every hour approaching to its ruin, the distemper would soon reach the heart, and no human help would then be able to remove it. Henry did not forget to strengthen these motives, by a comparison of his present situation, in all these respects, with that of England and Holland, who could engage in a war, on which their safety depended, consistently at the same time with their safety and their interest; and the king drew this parallel with so much clearness and judgment, and so exact a knowledge of the state of those countries, as to make them feel the truth of what he was saying; so that the two foreigners, having nothing to oppose against such convincing arguments, looked upon each other in amazement. The king gave them to understand, that, when he had settled the affairs of his kingdom, he should then, with more assurance of success, renew his former designs against the empire, and the house of Austria; but that these two enterprises were not of a nature to be executed at one and the same time. The ambassadors, for form's sake, thought they ought to dissuade his majesty from his

resolution, but did it so faintly, being themselves struck with the force of his arguments, that, before the conference was ended, the king brought them over entirely to his opinion, and obliged them to confess, that the peace he was going to conclude was for the advantage of all Europe. They left France soon after, and filled their respective countries with the opinion they had conceived of the great wisdom and extraordinary abilities of the king of France.

IN effect, what innumerable miseries would this prince have drawn upon his kingdom, if following the wild emotions of hatred and revenge, rather than the calm dictates of wisdom and prudence, he had at that instant engaged in a war, which, though in his power to begin, was not to end! How dreadful the consequence, if chance, which arbitrarily disposes of all the events of war, should have favoured the enemies of France! But granting that his arms were victorious, how little preferable to a defeat is that success, which a prince must purchase at so dear a rate, as by the alienation of his domains, by the anticipating and mortgaging his revenues, by the ruin of commerce and agriculture, from whence France derives her chief support, and lastly, by the utter devastation of his province! Such evils cannot be balanced by the acquisition of new territories, the possession of which keeps the conqueror in perpetual alarms, and, remaining as so many hateful monuments to the enemy of the ambition and injustice of him that gained them, cherish and keeps alive those seeds of envy, hatred, and distrust, that sooner or later never fail to produce the same miseries with which the kingdom was before overwhelmed: on this account, I am not afraid to say, that, in the present state of Europe, it is almost equally unhappy for its princes to succeed or miscarry in their enterprizes; and that the true way of weakening a powerful neighbour, is not to carry
off

off his spoils, but to leave them to be shared by others.

THE insolence of the protestant cabal was totally depressed, when they found that the ambassadors, upon whom they had so greatly relied, were entirely brought over to the king's opinion; and, not doubting but that a peace now would be soon concluded, they thought only of procuring reasonable conditions. It was happy for them that at a time when it would have been easy to punish them for their unjustifiable proceedings, they had a prince to deal with whose reason was always stronger than his resentment. Both sides were then very industrious to draw up that famous agreement known by the name of the edict of Nantes, by which the rights of the two religions were afterwards both clearly explained and solidly established. Schomberg, the president de Thou, Jeannin, and Calignon, were employed to draw it up, of which all I shall say is, that, by this edict, it was provided that the French calvinists, who till then had been only privileged by truces resumed and continued, should have a fixed and durable establishment †. All that now remained to be done, was to make this treaty be registered and confirmed by the parliaments and sovereign courts, and to begin with those of Paris; which was deferred till the king's return to that city.

† The edict of Nantes was signed the 13th of April. De Thou says, that the judicial confirmation of it was put off till after the departure of the legate, whom they were loth to send away discontented. The concessions this edict contains, more favourable than those that had been formerly granted them, are, that thereby they were admitted to places of trust, both in the courts of justice and in the finances: all the rest is no ways essentially different from the edict of pacification that passed in 1577. Bayle ascribes the honour of composing the edict of Nantes to the reformed minister Chamier. See it in Matthieu, tom. II. book. ii. and several other historians. There were likewise some secret articles, of which the most disadvantageous for the calvinists is that which forbids them the exercise of their religion in a great many towns and particular districts, as Rheims, Soissons, Dijon, Sens, &c. because Henry IV. had so engaged himself by particular treaties before, with the different lords of the league.

HAVING

HAVING paid what he owed to the protestants*, according to the exactest justice, the king thought himself not obliged to shew much regard to those who still continued to stir sedition, such as the duke of Bouillon in particular, who had most reason to reproach himself, and for once, he resolved to speak to him like a master: he had now acquired a right to do this, even though we suppose him not to have had it in the character of king. He proposed as soon as he arrived at Rennes, to execute this design, and took his rout thither without delay. The duke of Bouillon then lodged at the house of l'Alloué, where he was confined to his bed by the gout: the king went to visit him, and after the first compliments, signifying that it was his pleasure to be left alone with the duke, the rest of the company quitted the chamber, and his majesty desired that he would, without interruption, hear what he had to say to him. He began with a particular detail of all his proceedings, to shew that he was not ignorant of any of them: he dwelt chiefly upon some steps the duke had taken since the edict of Nantes, and were therefore so much the more criminal, as it ought to have prevented him from entertaining a thought of revolting against a prince who had so generously adhered to his interest. The duke attempted to offer something in his excuse, but he was stopped by the king, who told him, that without any justification, he would from that day forget all that had passed; and since he had pardoned whatever the most inveterate malice had been able to suggest to his enemies, he had no inclination to exclude from his favour an old servant, with whom he had been pleased for a long time: in conclusion, he advised the duke, with an air of authority, which be-

* Le Grain mentions a good saying of Henry IV. One day as the protestants were importunately teasing him with their demands, "Apply to my sister," says he to them, "for your affairs are now fallen into the hands of women to conduct them."

came him better as he used it seldom, to make good use of the council he was now giving him as his friend, to think no more of his past behaviour, but for the sake of acting in a manner quite contrary; for if he should again fail in his respect to his king and master, he was resolved to make use of that convenience which the peace now established in the kingdom gave, to bring him to punishment: after which the king, without waiting for his answer, went out and left him to his own thoughts.

THE inhabitants of Brittany were charmed with the affability of their king, and his complaisance in being present at all the entertainments with which the ladies contended to divert him. Henry divided his time between these assemblies, the sport of running at the ring, balls, and tennis-playing, without lessening his assiduity about the marchioness of Monceaux, who was very far advanced in her pregnancy.

IN the midst of these amusements, the king at certain intervals appeared so pensive and reserved, that it was not difficult to guess some secret uneasiness preyed upon his mind; and I was the more convinced of it when his majesty, who often diverted himself with hunting, ordered me twice to follow him apart, that he might have an opportunity of conversing with me alone; yet when I did so he was silent. I then remembered that the same thing had happened at Saint-Germain, and Angers; and I concluded that he had a design in view, which he had some difficulty to disclose to me, knowing with what freedom I sometimes opposed his opinions; but what this design was I could not possibly guess. Returning from the abovementioned visit to the duke of Bouillon, his majesty being at the foot of the stair-case, saw me as I entered the court, and calling me, made me go with him into the garden, which was extremely large and beautiful, holding my hand with his finger between mine as usual, then
ordered

ordered the door to be shut, and that no person should be allowed to enter.

THIS prelude made me expect to hear a secret of great consequence. Henry did not enter upon it immediately, but, as if he had not sufficient resolution to explain himself, began to tell me what had just passed between him and the duke of Bouillon. This conversation was followed by news relating to the negotiations of Vervins, and laid him insensibly to reflect on the advantages France would receive from a peaceable government. One circumstance, the king said gave him great uneasiness, which was that, not having children by the queen his wife, it would answer no purpose to be at so much trouble to procure peace and tranquility to his kingdom, since, after his death, it must necessarily fall into its former calamities, by the disputes that would arise between the prince of Condé and the other princes of the blood, concerning the succession to the crown. His majesty confessed to me, that this was his motive for desiring, with such ardour, to leave sons behind him. Unless his marriage with the princess Margaret could be dissolved, it was not possible for him to be absolutely happy; but the informations he received from the archbishop of Urbin, messieurs de Perron, d'Osât, and de Marquemont, his deputies at Rome, of the pope's favourable dispositions in respect to that affair, gave him great hopes of its success: in effect, Clement the eighth, who was as good a politician as any prince in Europe, revolving in his mind what means were most likely to hinder France, and the other christian kingdoms, from falling again into a state of anarchy and confusion, could find none so effectual as to secure the succession of the crown of France, by authorising Henry to engage in a second marriage, which might produce him male children.

OUR conversation being fixed upon this subject, it was easy for me to perceive that it was from hence

his majesty's uneasiness proceeded; but I could not so soon know what particular circumstance it was that disturbed him. The king began to consider with me what princess of Europe he should chuse for his wife, in case his marriage with Margaret of Valois should be dissolved; but indeed he set out with a declaration that shewed any reflections on that head would be fruitless. "That I may not repent," said he, of taking so dangerous a step, nor draw upon myself a misfortune which is with justice said to exceed all others, that of having a wife disagreeable in person and mind, it is necessary that in her whom I marry I should find these seven things, beauty, prudence, softness, wit, fruitfulness, riches, and a royal birth;" but there was not one in all Europe, with whom he appeared entirely satisfied. "I should have no objection to the infanta of Spain," pursued Henry, "although she is a little advanced in years, provided that with her I could marry the Low-Countries, even though I should be obliged to restore to you the earldom of Bethune: neither would I refuse the princess Arabella* of England, if, as it is publicly said, that crown really belongs to her, she were only declared presumptive heiress of it; but there is no reason to expect that either of these things will happen. I have also heard of some princesses of Germany, whose names I have forgot; but the women of that country don't suit me: I should always fancy I had a hog'shead of wine in bed with me; besides, I have been told that France had once a queen of that country, who had like to have ruined it: all these considerations have

* The marchioness Aibelle, or Arabella Stuart. She was daughter to Charles, earl of Lenox, who was grandson to Margaret queen of Scotland, eldest sister to Henry VIII. Her cousin-german James VI. king of Scotland, having in 1602 been declared lawful heir to queen Elizabeth, the following year a conspiracy was formed in her favour; and she died in 1616, a prisoner in the Tower of London. See the historians.

“ given me a disgust to the German ladies. The
 “ sisters of prince Maurice have likewise been men-
 “ tioned to me; but besides that they are protestants,
 “ which would give umbrage to the court of Rome
 “ and the more zealous catholics, they are daughters
 “ of a nun; which, together with a certain reason
 “ that I’ll inform you of some other time, has
 “ prevented my entertaining any thoughts of them.
 “ The duke of Florence has a niece who is said to
 “ be handsome, but she is descended from one of the
 “ most inconsiderable families in Christendom that
 “ bear the title of prince, it not being above threescore
 “ or fourscore years since her ancestors were only the
 “ first citizens in Florence: she is likewise of the same
 “ race with the queen-mother Catherine, who did so
 “ much mischief in France, and to me in particular.

“ THESE,” continued the king, observing that I
 listened attentively to him, “ are all the foreign
 “ princesses that I have any knowledge of: of those
 “ within my own kingdom my niece of Guise
 “ would please me best*, notwithstanding the ma-
 “ licious reports that have been spread that she loves
 “ *poulets* in paper better than in a fricassée; for my
 “ part I not only believe those reports to be false,
 “ but should rather chuse a wife who is a little fond of
 “ gallantry, than one who wanted understanding;
 “ but I am apprehensive that the violent affection
 “ she discovers for her family, particularly for her
 “ brothers, would create some disorders in the
 “ kingdom.”

AFTER this the king named all the other princesses in France, but to as little purpose: he acknowledged that some were beautiful, and genteel, such as

* Louisa Margaret of Lorraine: she was a very beautiful princess. It was proposed, at the time of the siege of Paris, for her to marry Henry IV. in order to unite the two parties. The sarcastic lampoons of that time charge her with carrying on an intrigue with the duke de Bellegarde, master of the horse: and what Henry says here of *poulets*, is taken from a song that was made against mademoiselle de Guise, which may be seen in l’Etoile, for the year 1596.

the eldest of the duke of Maienne's two daughters, although of a brown complexion, the two daughters, likewise of the duke of Aumale, and three of the duke of Longueville; but all these were either too young, or were not in his taste. He afterwards named mademoiselle Rohan, the princess of Conti's daughter, of the house of Lucé; mademoiselles Luxembourg and Guémené; but the first was a protestant, and the second not old enough, and the persons of the two others did not please him: and all for some reason or other were excluded. The king closed this enumeration by saying, that although these ladies might be all agreeable enough to him in their persons, yet he saw no way to be assured that they would bring him heirs, or that he could suit himself to their tempers, or be convinced of their prudence, three of the seven conditions without which he had resolved never to marry; since, if he entered into an engagement of that kind, it would be with a design to give his wife a share in the management of all his domestic affairs; and that, as according to the course of nature, he should die before her, and leave children very young behind him, it would be necessary that she should be able to superintend their education, and govern the kingdom during a minority.

WEARY at length of endeavouring to no purpose to find out what the king aimed at by this discourse, "But what is it you mean, sire," said I, "by so many affirmatives and negatives; and what I am to conclude by them, but that you are desirous to marry, and yet cannot find a woman upon the earth qualified to be your wife? By the manner in which you mentioned the infanta Clara Eugenia, it should seem that great heiresses are most to your taste; but can you expect that heaven should raise a Margaret of Flanders, or a Mary of Burgundy, from the dead for you, or at least restore the queen of England to her youth?" I added

ded smiling, “ that for proof of the other qualities
 “ which he demanded, I saw no better expedient
 “ than to bring all the beauties of France together,
 “ from the age of seventeen to that of twenty-five,
 “ that by talking with them in person, he might
 “ know the turn of their temper and genius; and
 “ that for the rest he should refer himself to expe-
 “ rienced matrons, to whom recourse is had on such
 “ occasions.” Then beginning to talk more se-
 “ riously, I declared that, “ in my opinion, his ma-
 “ jesty might contract his expectations, by striking
 “ off a great fortune and royal birth, and content him-
 “ self with a wife who was likely to keep his heart,
 “ and bring him fine children; but that here again
 “ he must content himself with mere probability,
 “ there being many beautiful women incapable of
 “ child-bearing, and many illustrious fathers un-
 “ happy in their offspring†; but that whatever his
 “ children should prove, the blood from which they
 “ sprung would secure the respect and obedience of
 “ the French nation.”

“ WELL,” interrupted the king, “ setting aside
 “ your advice concerning this assembly of beauties,
 “ with which I am mightily diverted, and your sage
 “ reflection that great men have often children who
 “ possess none of their qualities, I hope to have sons
 “ whose actions shall exceed mine. Since you
 “ confess that the lady whom I marry ought to be of
 “ an agreeable temper, beautiful in her person, and
 “ of such a make as to give hopes of her bringing
 “ children, reflect a little, whether you do not
 “ know a person in whom all these qualities are
 “ united.” I replied, that I would not take upon
 me to decide hastily upon a choice wherein so much

† The author, on this head, mentions, very improperly, Ninias, Anaxindaris, Nebucodonosor, Cyrus, Alexander, Trajan, Constantine, and Charlemagne. I likewise retrench in this conversation, as in many other passages, several discourses that are too prelix, and full of useless erudition.

consideration was requisite, and to which I had not yet sufficiently attended. "And what would you say," returned Henry, "if I should name one, who, I am fully convinced, possesses these three qualities." "I should say, sire," replied I, with great simplicity, "that you are much better acquainted with her than I am, and that she must necessarily be a widow, otherwise you can have no certainty with regard to her fruitfulness." "This is all that you would desire," said the king, "but if you cannot guess who she is, I will name her to you." "Name her then, said I, for I own I have not wit enough to find out who she is." "Ah! how dull are you," cried the king, "but I am persuaded, you could guess who I mean if you would, and only effect this ignorance to oblige me to name her myself; confess then that these three qualities meet in my mistress: not" pursued the king (in some confusion at this discovery of his weakness) "that I have any intention to marry her, but I want to know what you would say, if, not being able to meet with any other whom I could approve of, I should one day take it into my head to make her my wife."

It was not difficult for me to discover, amidst these slight artifices, that his majesty had already thought of it but too much, and was but too well disposed to this unworthy marriage, which every thing he had said tended to justify. My astonishment was indeed very great, but I thought it necessary to conceal my thoughts with the utmost care: I affected to believe that he was jesting, that I might have an opportunity of answering in such a manner as might make the king ashamed of having entertained so extravagant a notion. My dissimulation did not succeed; the king had not made so painful an effort to stop there. "I command you," said he to me, "to speak freely; you have acquired the right of telling me plain truths; do not apprehend that I shall

“ shall be offended with you for doing so, provided
 “ that it is in private; such a liberty indeed in pub-
 “ lic would greatly offend me.”

I REPLIED, that I would never be so independent as to say any thing in private, any more than in public, that might displease him, except on such occasions when his life, or the good of the state was in question. I afterwards represented to him the disgrace so scandalous an alliance would draw upon him, in the opinion of the whole world, and the reproaches he would suffer from his own mind upon that account, when the ardour of his passion being abated, he should be able to judge impartially of his own conduct. I shewed him that if this was the only means to which he could have recourse to free France from the calamities a doubtful succession would occasion, that he would expose himself to all the inconveniencies he was anxious to avoid, and others still greater: that although he should legitimate the children he had by madam de Liancourt, yet that could not hinder the eldest, who was born in a double adultery, from being, in this respect, inferior to the second, whose birth was attended with but half that disgrace; and both must yield to those whom he might have by madam de Liancourt after she was his lawful wife: this bye circumstance making it impossible to settle their claims, could not fail of becoming an inexhaustible source of quarrels and war. “ I leave you, sire,” pursued I, “ to make
 “ reflections upon all this, before I say any more.”
 “ That will not be amiss,” returned the king, who was struck with my arguments; “ for you have
 “ said enough of this matter for the first time.” But such was the tyranny of that blind passion, to which he was subjected, that in spite of himself he resumed the discourse that very moment, by asking me if, from the disposition I knew the French to be of, especially the nobility, I thought he had any reason to

apprehend they would rise in rebellion, while he was living, if he should marry his mistress.

THIS question convinced me, that his heart had received an incurable wound: I treated him accordingly, and entered into arguments and expostulations, with which I shall not trouble the reader, since his own imagination may suggest to him all that it was necessary to say upon this subject, which has been already dwelt upon too long. We continued three hours alone in the garden, and I had the consolation to leave the king in a full persuasion of the truth and reasonableness of all I had said to him.

THE difficulty lay in breaking those too powerful ties; the king had not yet brought himself to that point: he had many dreadful * conflicts of mind to

* In this inward struggle, the voice of reason and decorum had not the strongest sway with Henry IV. and even though M. de Sully does here and elsewhere say it, the world has always been persuaded, upon very good grounds, that, if the death of his mistress, whom he so tenderly loved, had not prevented this prince, he would either have married her, or he would not have married again at all. He was not always directed on this head by the sole advice of the duke de Sully, at least if we believe a very curious anecdote, which may be seen in vol. 9590 des MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi; where it is observed, that Henry IV. being at Saint-Germain-en-Laye (this was probably but some months at most after his return from Brittany, sent for his three ministers (M. de Rosny, de Villeroi, and de Sillery) to consult with them about this so important a question, relating to his marriage; and that the first (who to be sure was M. de Rosny) was of the same opinion as is mentioned in this place of his Memoirs: that the second advised him on the contrary not to marry, but leave the succession to the prince de Condé, who by birth-right was his true heir: and that at last the third (this was M. de Sillery, the most artful courtier of the three) in opposition to both the former advices, told him, that the best thing he could do was to marry his mistress, and legitimate the eldest of the children he had by her. Henry IV. (continues the author of this anecdote, who plainly shews himself to be a person to whom one of the three ministers themselves had communicated what had passed between the king and them) I say Henry IV. seemed surprized at this, and afterwards said, "I had promised myself a great deal from your ability and fidelity, by the advice I wanted of you with regard to my marriage; yet still I fear, that instead of having satisfied me, you have only increased my resolution by the contrariety of your opinions, which are backed with such strong reasons, that I find myself not a little embarrassed as to the judgment which I should make as to the best of them; as

suffer ere that could be effected; and all he could do for the present, was to defer taking his last resolution till he had obtained the permission he had been so long soliciting from the pope, and till then to keep his sentiments secret. He promised me not to acquaint his mistress with what I had said, lest it should draw her resentment upon me. “She loves you,” said the king to me, “and esteems you still more; but her mind still entertains some remains of distrust, that you will not approve of my designs in favour of her and her children: she often tells me, that when one hears you perpetually talking of my kingdom and my glory, one is apt to think that you prefer the one to my person, and the other to my quiet.” I answered, that against this charge I could make no defence; that the kingdom and the sovereign were to be looked upon with the same eyes: “Remember, sire, added I, that your virtue is the soul that animates this great body, which must, by its splendor and prosperity, repay you that glory and happiness that it derives from you, and that you are not to seek happiness by any other means.” After this we left the garden, and it being night separated, leaving the courtiers to rack their imaginations in vain to guess the subjects of so long a conference.

NEITHER the king nor I had attended to a circumstance absolutely necessary on such occasions, which was Margaret’s consent to the dissolution of her marriage: I conceived it to be highly proper to enter upon this negotiation while we expected the success of that which was carrying on at Rome. I was willing first to sound the intentions of the princess; therefore the substance of the letter I wrote to her on this subject was, that, most ardently desiring a reconciliation between her and the king, upon which France founded her hopes of having a law-

“to that therefore I require a little time to consider of it,” &c, and after he had said this, he got up and dismissed them.

ful heir to the crown, I thought it my duty to intreat she would authorise me to use my utmost endeavours to effect this reconciliation; but that, if the inclinations of both parties were such as to render this attempt fruitless, or that it should not conduce to the purpose I mentioned to her (a point I was sensible the sterility of this princess would make her secretly agree to) I hoped she would not be offended if I should afterwards take the liberty to persuade her to make a still greater sacrifice, which the state expected from her. I did not explain myself any farther, but after what I had mentioned just before, upon the necessity of giving legitimate children to the crown of France, it was not difficult to guess what I meant by this sacrifice.

THE queen took time to deliberate upon a matter of such importance, before she sent me an answer; which I did not receive till five months after I had written to her: it was dated from Usson *, where she usually resided, and was such an one as we would have wished for, prudent, modest, and submissive. Margaret, without explaining herself any more than I had done, upon a separation that was not yet publicly talked of, was contented with substituting, instead of it, an assurance that she would readily submit to the king's will; adding the most candid praises of his conduct, and thanks to me for my sollicitude and cares.

THE king staid at Rennes but seven or eight days, resolving to set out as soon as possible for Paris, that he might reach Picardy the beginning of May: he took his rout through Vitré †, from whence I re-

* This princess had at first retired, many years before, to Agen, and afterwards to Carlat. King Henry III. her brother, had not treated her better than Henry IV. her husband, but persecuted her every where, and at last shut her up in the castle of Usson in Auvergne, where, after his death, she was contented to live.

† I have substituted this word in the place of that of Villeroi, as the original bears: there never was a place of that name in Brittany; and, in fact, Henry IV's road lay through Vitré.

ceived orders from him to give a gratuity to the garriſon of Rochefort, and afterwards to cauſe the caſtle to be razed. From Vitré his majeſty coaſted along the Loire, and came to Tours, by the way of la Fleche, which he took pleaſure in ſeeing again, it being the place where he had paſſed part of his time in his youth.

I ſTAID behind him at Rennes five or ſix days, to put the affairs of the finances in order, pay the troops, ſettle their departure from Brittany, and their march through the miſt of the provinces; after which I came to Tours to the king; his majeſty having ſent for me upon an affair of great importance. I left him to continue his journey to Paris, whither (notwithſtanding all the haſte he was able to make) he did not arrive till the latter end of May. I was ſo weary † of the formality of our reception into the great cities, and particularly of the long ſpeeches that we were tormented with in every place, that taking a bye-road by le Maine and le Perche, I came alone to my eſtate at Roſny, where my wife was employed in attending the building of a houſe, and had narrowly eſcaped being cruſhed to pieces under the ruins of the old edifice, which was firſt to be demolithed. I ſtaid there but a ſhort time, yet upon my arrival at Paris, I found the king was gone from thence; he had only paſſed through it, and taken the road to Amiens immediately: this city he thought convenient for correſponding with

† The king was no leſs ſo. L'Etoile relates ſome very ſmart repartees of his majeſty to theſe importunate haranguers; one of them tired him with long titles and compellations of honour, and repeating often, “ O very benign, O very great, O very merciful, &c. king,” “ Add too, ſays Henry to him, and very weary.” Another having begun his ſpeech with theſe words, “ Ageſilaus, king of Lacedemon, fire,” &c. The king, interrupting him, ſays, “ *Ventre, ſaint gris!* I have heard a good deal ſpoken of this Ageſilaus, but he had dined firſt; but, for my part, I have not yet.” Having twice told another, that he ſhould cut ſhort his harangue; and ſeeing that he went on tediouſly nevertheless, he left him, and ſo went away, telling him, “ You muſt ſay the reſt then to maſter William,” meaning the fool that belonged to the court.

the plenipotentiarics at Vervins, and likewise for visiting all the fortresses upon the frontiers, to facilitate the evacuation of those that were to be restored to him by the treaty, and to provide for their security for the future. All this was but the work of eight days, and his majesty was no sooner come to Paris than the treaty was signed †.

THE treaty was very clear and plain: the resignation of all the towns and fortresses that Spain possessed in France was almost the only considerable article in it. No difficulty arose concerning the affair of the marquisate of Saluces; the king did not think fit to break off the peace on account of this article, which was looked upon to be of so little importance, that if Savoy should refuse to do justice in it, the king, it was said, might, with very little trouble, seize the whole territory, without any obstruction from Spain. Both parties, however, obliged themselves to stand to the pope's † decision of the affair. Here the plenipotentiarics committed an error, which was the cause of engaging his majesty soon after in a war that might have been avoided. I shall take no notice of the rest of those formalities in use amongst

† On the 2d of May 1598, the peace was signed, in the name of the king, “ by M. Pomponne de Beilievre, knight, lord of Grignon, “ and counsellor of state to the king, and M. Nicholas Brulart, knt. “ lord of Sillery, counsellor of state to the king, and president in his “ court of parliament at Paris. In the name of the cardinal of Au- “ stria, having full powers from the king of Spain, by M. John “ Richardot, knight, chief and president of the privy council of his “ said majesty, and one of his council of state; M. John Baptiste de “ Taxis, knight, &c. and M. Louis Verreiken, knight, &c.” See this whole treaty in the *Memoires & negociations de la paix traitée à Vervins*, tom. II. with an account, in form of a journal, of all that passed between the plenipotentiarics, from the opening of that negotiation till the conclusion of the peace.

† What regards the duke of Savoy, who was represented by M. Gaspard de Geneve, marquis de Lullin, and counsellor of state, &c. is at the end of the 24th article, and imports, “ that the remainder of “ the other differences that are between the said most christian king, “ and the said duke, shall be referred to the judgment of our holy fa- “ ther Clement VIII. to be determined by his holiness within one “ year . . . And matters shall continue in the state in which they “ are at present,” &c.

them †, and leave it to others to extol those refined stratagems that in politics are thought the masterpiece of human wit.

THE king signed the treaty at Paris, in the presence of the duke d'Arscot †, and the admiral of Arragon; the arch-duke did the same at Brussels, in the name of the king of Spain and his own, before marshal Biron, on whom the king, to qualify him for this ceremony, had just bestowed the rank of duke and peer of France, a dignity that completely turned his head. Messieurs de Bellièvre and de Sillery were likewise present. The duke of Savoy gave his solemn assent to the peace at Chamberry, in the presence of Gadagne Bothéon *, governor of Lyons, who was deputed to him from the king for that purpose.

THUS, notwithstanding a league so powerful as that of the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and all the ecclesiastics of christianity, did the king of France accomplish his de-

† There were found the same difficulties as to the substance, and the same obstacles as to the formalities that are usually to be met with in such sort of deliberations. They may be seen in the *Lettres de M. de Bellièvre & de Sillery*, and in the *Relation, &c.* *ibid.* These two negotiators have been generally commended for the firm and wise conduct which they shewed therein. In their letters, and, among others, in those dated the 7th of April, and 4th of March, they give a particular detail of the motives that induced them to conclude with the agents for the duke of Savoy in the manner which M. de Sully complains of: and all this they did by the particular orders of his majesty; in his letter of April 9, &c.

† Charles de Croy, duke d'Arscot and prince de Chimay; don Francisco de Mendoza and Cardona, admiral of Arragon. Henry IV. took an oath for the observing of the treaty of peace on Sunday the 21st of June, the cardinal de Florence, the pope's legate, officiating in the most solemn manner. The account is also to be met with, *ib.* tom. II. p. 266. of the MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, vol. 936r. *Mem. de la ligue*, tom. VI. *Mem. de Nevers*, tom. II. *Matthieu*, tom. II. liv. ii. *Cayet*, and others.

* "He is styled," in the oath taken by the duke of Savoy on the 2d of August, "the illustrious lord, William de Gadagne, lord of Bothéon, knight of the orders of the most high and most excellent prince Henry IV. the most christian king of France and Navarre, counsellor in his council of state, captain of fifty gens-d'arms, and his

signs †, and crown them with a glorious peace: all those that had been employed in effecting it, he rewarded with a royal munificence; and to prevent this measure from alienating Holland from his interests, he sent Buzenval to Amsterdam, to keep up a good intelligence with the States, and to pay the pension his majesty allowed them. It is not possible to reflect on the great abilities of this prince, and his surprising diligence in shewing himself in every part of his kingdom where his presence was the least necessary, without giving him those praises he so well deserves.



B O O K X.

PEACE brought with it other labours and other cares. The king began by reducing the number of his troops, both French and foreigners: the Swiss, except three companies of an hundred men each, commanded by the colonels Galati, Heid, and Baltazar, were disbanded. This reduction was not so complete as I could have wished, and the necessity of the times seemed to require; but my advice on this head was not approved by his majesty: however, if it had been considered that the royal treasure was almost exhausted, and yet that there was an absolute necessity of furnishing money for many occasions so urgent, that new sums were obliged to be borrowed

“ his lieutenant-general in the government of the Lyonnois, Forêt, and Beaujolois, ambassador, intrusted and deputed,” &c. *Mem. & Negotiations, &c. tom. II. p. 365.*

‡ The letters which this prince wrote to his two ministers at Ver-
vins, during all the time that this negociation lasted, confirm this. They are inserted in the *Mem. & Negotiations, &c. ibid.* He says, “ that with one stroke of his pen he had performed more exploits than he could have done during a long war with the best swords of his kingdom.” It was also said, upon this treaty, that the Spaniards had got the better by arms, but the French by negotiation.

for that purpose, I am of opinion that I could not have been reproached with a sordid and misplaced œconomy.

THESE sums were to be applied to the fortifying a great number of towns, and the repairing of many buildings, that by the late disorders of the times were threatened with approaching ruin, which it was necessary to prevent without delay. Upon visiting the chief rivers of the kingdom, to settle the different claims (a business which was trusted to four persons of known probity) it was likewise found necessary to raise several works, particularly upon the Charente.

AMONGST other political regulations which were thought necessary to be made, the king set bounds to that prodigious quantity of grain, which it was usual to send out of the kingdom, and which often exposed France to suffer the greatest inconveniencies from a scarcity of her own produce †: by another regulation, all that had no right to wear swords ‡

† The most just consequence which it would seem can be drawn from all the reasonings we read and hear daily upon this point, namely of exporting corn out of the kingdom, is that which the duke de Sully infers here. It would be unreasonable to deprive this kingdom of one of the most happy resources, and one of the richest supports of its commerce, by forbidding all exportation of this sort of commodity: and it would be no less imprudent to allow it without measure or proportion.

If to find this proper medium, the public and royal magazines do not appear to be answerable and sufficient expedient, by reason of the great expences and still greater inconveniencies that attend them; it would seem that the objection cannot be made against commissaries that might be established to take care that the granaries of private persons might be filled, opened, and shut, whenever the public exigencies required it. This part of political œconomy, whose great and almost sole view should be to know and to keep up the proportion betwixt the productions of the earth and their consumption, by fairly balancing the different years and different provinces, is not, I believe, so difficult as at first it appears.

‡ As to the regulation of carrying arms, several persons are of opinion that it would be proper to add some distinguishing marks in the form of the cloaths, that might serve to make known in public the different ranks of people.

As to arts and sciences, and the belles lettres: if it be true, as it appears, that it cannot be doubted, that it is to the care that has been taken

were forbid, upon pain of the severest punishments, to appear in them.

AMIDST these occupations, polite literature was not excluded from a share of the king's attention. He heard Casaubon mentioned, and upon the reputation of this learned man, he invited him to come and settle in Paris with his family, where he fixed him by a pension that afforded him the means of living as became a man of his character, who is not called, said Henry, to govern the state.

I AM under necessity of suppressing a detail of less important incidents, the number of which would be infinite, were I to recount in these Memoirs all that his majesty said or wrote to me from Fontainebleau, Monceaux, and Saint-Germain-en-Laye, where he passed the remainder of this year, and where, from time to time, he commanded my attendance to con-

taken for some years past to cultivate them in Europe, we owe the difference that may at this day be observed among Europeans, with regard to the softness of their manners, the politeness of their behaviour, their connexion with each other, and the means which a more pacific spirit has found out to discuss and terminate, in a less cruel manner, their respective differences: it appears that, by all kinds of public motives, independently of that of the glory and particular interest that results from it, a great state ought not to lose sight of this object. After all the care which has been already taken in this kingdom, in order to form and establish a library, museums, and collections of all kinds, that might be worthy of the powerful monarch that rules it, to institute academies where persons apply themselves to improve the arts and sciences; the world expects with impatience to see the design executed that was formed some time ago, namely, to accommodate all these different parts a little more to one another, in such a large town as Paris, by bringing them all within the same walls, where one might conveniently find all, at once, as books, instruments, printing-houses, and, in general, all the necessary implements, together with proper accommodations for lodging the persons appointed and set over to inspect and take care of them; and especially, to see established a tribunal of arts and sciences, consisting of proper persons in the different academies, and paid by his majesty, to make exact trials, and form a precise judgment concerning books, discoveries, and productions that might be useful to the public. At first there was an intention to make the square or place Vendôme serve for this purpose; after this the old Louvre was pitched upon: but exigencies of state that are still more necessary to be attended to, have ever since made the execution of his project be deferred.

fer with me upon different occasions. I shall exactly fulfil my former promise, in suppressing all that are not in themselves of some consideration; and shall only observe here, that perhaps no ministers of state ever found in their prince more attention, or more readiness of expedience, with respect to all that could promote either the advantage or the mere convenience of a kingdom, than I found in the prince whom I served. Neither peace, nor domestic affairs, made him neglect to observe what was doing in the neighbouring courts: the question about the true or false Don Sebastian † made then a great noise in Europe as well as in Spain. He sent la Tremouille § into Portugal, to endeavour if possible to unravel the mystery, that he might not, but upon full conviction, determine upon the justice or iniquity of the council of Spain, which had begun their measures by causing the supposed king of Portugal to be arrested.

HENRY, not having yet explained himself concerning those great schemes which he afterwards formed against the house of Austria, was desirous of acting this year as a mediator between Spain and England; he therefore proposed a conference to be held at Boulogne ‡ between the two crowns, and sent Caumar-

† † This question seems at present to be pretty well decided, by the authority of far the greatest part of the best historians, who make no doubt but that king Sebastian lost his life in the battle he fought with the Moors at Alcazar, in 1578; and consequently that this pretended Don Sebastian was but an imposture, supported both at that time and since by the enemies of Spain. See the proofs of this king's death in M. de Thou, book lxxv. of which we shall say more in the sequel. France could besides have meddled in this question another way. Catharine de Medicis pretended to have a rightful title to the crown of Portugal, alledging that she was descended of Robert, son to Alphonfus III. by Maude his first wife, who died in 1262. Since which time she maintained, that all the kings of Portugal were no other than usurpers: but as these were points very difficult to be decided, it appears, that she made but little progress in making good her pretensions.

§ Claude de la Tremouille, duke de Thouars, who died in 1606.

‡ This conference or congress, into which were admitted the states of

tin and Jeannin, to assist at it in his name. It was in vain that I opposed a measure, which seemed to me to be founded in very bad policy; happily, however, this conference produced nothing that had been expected from it. The obstinate hatred these two nations bore to each other, gave rise immediately to so hot a dispute about precedency, that they separated before they had even begun to settle the smallest preliminary.

THE jesuits were not more fortunate in their endeavours to take advantage of that article in the treaty of Vervins, by which all French exiles as well as foreigners were at liberty to return into France and settle there; the arret of council which intervened, deprived them of this resource, and they were obliged to make use of other means that succeeded better.

THE assembly of the clergy that was held this year, and continued part of the following, shared likewise his majesty's attention, as well as the promotion of cardinals. The son of madam Sourdis † was one of those Frenchmen for whom the king procured a hat, although he was too young to be thought worthy of that distinction. Madam de Sourdis owed this favour to the duchess of Beaufort's interest, whom she prevailed upon to support her request.

THIS was the title the king's mistress now bore, for which she quitted that of marchioness of Montceaux, when the birth of a second son drew from his majesty an increase of tenderness and honours. This lady had for a long time set no bounds to her ambition; she aspired at nothing less than being declared queen of France; and Henry's passion for her, which increased every day, gave her hopes of accomplishing her designs. When she was informed that the king's agents at Rome were commissioned to solici-

of the United Provinces, was not held till the year 1599, in the months of May and June.

† Francis d'Escoublau, cardinal de Sourdis, and archbishop of Bourdeaux, who died in 1628.

cit the dissolution of his marriage with Margaret, and that his majesty was on the point of sending the duke of Luxembourg † to that court with the title of ambassador, to hasten the conclusion of it, she looked upon this to be a favourable opportunity; but suspecting the agents, and probably the new ambassador, she cast her eyes upon Sillery, who was already deep in her interest, and whom this last instance of confidence would not fail of binding still closer to her service: she sent for him, and explaining her views to him, set no bounds to the reward which she pretended to give for his service and devotion. As she knew what was most likely to tempt Sillery, she assured him of the seals at his return from Rome, though at the hazard even of disobliging madame de Sourdis her aunt and intimate friend, and promised him likewise the post of chancellor, as soon as it should be vacant. At this price Sillery engaged, with all the oaths she demanded from him, to neglect nothing that might prevail upon the pope to legitimate the two children she had by Henry, and to dissolve his marriage with Margaret. This first step taken, few obstacles remained to hinder her advancement to the throne. She easily found reasons to make the king approve of the ambassador she had chosen: the duke of Luxembourg was only suffered to set out, to be recalled as soon as Sillery should be in a condition to take his place. The duchess was at no pains to conceal from the court the title with which she had just graced her favourite; she assisted herself in preparing his equipages, and prevailed upon the king to give the necessary orders for Sillery's appearance with all the pomp and magnificence, by which the success of his negotiation might be secured.

THE duchess of Beaufort at the same time, to prepare the French for the change which she medi-

† Henry de Luxembourg, duke de Piney, who was the last of that branch of Luxembourg.

tated for her children, obtained of the king, who had no less tenderness for them than for the mother, that the ceremony of the baptism of the second son she had lately borne him, should be performed at Saint-Germain, where his majesty then was, with the same magnificence and honours which in this ceremony are only used to the children of France. Tho' I could pardon in this lady an intoxication in which she was kept by the servile respect the courtiers paid to her children, and the adorations they offered to herself, I could not have the same indulgence for Henry, who was so far from taking any measures to undeceive her, that he gave orders for the baptism of this child, with a readiness that shewed how agreeable the request was to him. I declared my sentiments of this proceeding with great freedom; I endeavoured publicly to oppose the inference which I perceived the courtiers would draw, in favour of children so dear to the king, for the succession to the crown. The king himself, after the ceremony, became sensible that he had permitted too much, and told me they had exceeded his orders; which I had no difficulty to believe. The child was named Alexander *, as the eldest had been Cæsar; and the court flatterers, by a kind of second baptism, gave him the title of *Monsieur*, which in France no one is allowed to bear but the king's only brother, or the presumptive heir to the crown.

THE mistress did not stop here; she began to assume all the airs of a queen, not indeed wholly thro' her own presumption, for I think she knew herself too well to have indulged such extravagant ideas, but was driven on to take that step by the continual solicitations of her creatures and relations: madam de Sourdis, Chiverny, and Fresne, seconded her so well on their parts, that it became insensibly the public

* They gave him the title of chevalier de Vendome. Lady Catherine, sister to the king, and the count de Soissons, were the sponsors at his christening. He died grand prior of France, in 1629.

talk of the court, that the king was going to marry his mistress; and that it was for this purpose he was soliciting his divorce at Rome. I was shocked at a report so injurious to the glory of this prince: I went to him, and made him sensible of the consequence of it. He appeared to me concerned, and even piqued at it: yet his first care was to justify madam de Beaufort, who, he positively assured me, had not contributed to the report; for which, all the proof he had was, that she had told him so: he threw the whole blame upon madam de Sourdis and Fresne, to whom he shewed that he was capable of pardoning a conduct so little respectful to him, since, although he was assured they were guilty, he gave them not the slightest reprimand.

ONE circumstance added great weight to the steps I took on this occasion both in public and private. Queen Margaret, with whom the affair of the approaching dissolution of her marriage obliged me to keep a correspondence by letters, was the last who heard of what was said and done at court. With regard to madam de Beaufort's pretensions, as soon as she was informed of them she wrote to me, and gave me to understand, that she had not changed her mind with regard to a separation from the king, but that she was so much offended at their intending to give the place she resigned to a woman so infamous as the duchess was by her commerce with the king, that although she had at first given her consent, without annexing any conditions to it, she was now determined to insist upon the exclusion of this woman; and no treatment whatever should oblige her to alter her resolution. I shewed this letter to the king, who judging by it how much his marriage with his mistress would irritate the best of his subjects against him, began, in reality, to change his sentiments and conduct.

I WAS of opinion, that if madam de Beaufort was acquainted with the contents of this letter, it might probably

probably produce the same effects upon her. I would not take this trouble upon myself, being unwilling to meet the insolence and rage of a woman, who looked upon me as a stumbling-block in the way of her advancement; but I communicated the letter to Chiverny and Fresne, who immediately informed madam de Sourdis of it, and she almost in the same moment the duchess of Beaufort. But this lady's counsellors were not so easily alarmed; they were very sensible that the design they had undertaken to engage the king in, could not fail of meeting with many difficulties, and they had settled their behaviour upon each: the result of their deliberations had been, to hasten, as much as possible, the conclusion of the affair; persuading themselves, that when it was once over, they might give it a colour that should make it excusable; or, at worst, matters would be composed after a little talk, as always happens when things were without remedy. They knew well the disposition of the French nation, especially the courtiers, whose first law it is to be always of the same mind with the sovereign, and whose strongest passion the desire of pleasing him. In a word, they thought themselves secure of every thing, provided the king himself did not fail them.

FRESNE having drawn up the warrant for the payment of the heralds, trumpeters, and other under officers of the crown, who had attended at the ceremony of the baptism, it was brought to me, as well as the rest, that I might give my order for its discharge. As soon as I cast my eyes upon this writing, a tender concern for the king's honour made me look upon it as a lasting testimony of his weakness, which was going to be handed down to posterity. I hesitated not a moment to return it, and caused another to be drawn up in terms more proper. The titles of Monsieur, Son of France, and all, that could give any notion of that kind, was suppressed, and consequently the household fees reduced to the ordinary

ordinary price, with which they were highly dissatisfied. They did not fail to renew their efforts; and in their discontent quoted Monsieur de Fresne, and the law by which their claims were regulated. At first I restrained myself before these people, whose bad intentions I well knew; but growing impatient at last I could not help saying to them, with some indignation, "Go, go, I will do nothing in it; know, that there are no children of France."

No sooner had these words escaped me, than suspecting that a troublesome affair would be made of it, to prevent it, I went immediately to his majesty, who was walking with the duke d'Epemon in the palace of Saint-Germain: I shewed him the warrant Fresne had drawn up, telling him, that if it was allowed, there needed no more but to declare himself married to the dutchess of Beaufort. "This is Fresne's malice," said the king, after he had read it: "but I shall take care to prevent it." Then, commanding me to tear the paper, he turned to three or four lords of the court who were nearest him, "How malignant are these people," said he aloud, "and what difficulties do they throw in the way of those who serve me with fidelity: they brought a warrant to monsieur de Rosny, with a design to make him offend me if he passed it, or my mistress if he refused it." In the state affairs then were, these words were far from being indifferent; they gave the courtiers, who had smiled at my simplicity, to understand that they might possibly be deceived themselves, and that the supposed marriage was not so near as they had imagined. The king continuing to converse with me apart, told me, that he did not doubt, but that madam de Beaufort was greatly enraged against me, and advised me to go to her, and endeavour, by solid reasons, to give her satisfaction: "If that will not do," added he, "I will speak to her as her master."

I WENT directly to the duchess's apartment, which

was in the cloister of Saint-Germain. I knew not what notion she conceived of a visit which she found I began with a sort of explanation: she did not allow me time to go on: the rage with which she was animated not permitting her to observe any measures, she interrupted me with a reproach that I had imposed upon the king, and made him believe that black was white. " 'Tis well, madam!" said I, interrupting her in my turn, but with great calmness, " since you think fit to talk in this manner, I shall take my leave, but I shall not, however, neglect to do my duty." Saying this, I left her, not being willing to hear more, lest I should be tempted to say something more severe. I put the king in a very ill humour with his mistress, when I repeated to him what she had said. " Come along with me," said the king, with an emotion that pleased me greatly, " and I will let you see that women do not wholly possess me." His coach not being ready soon enough for his impatience, his majesty got into mine: and as we drove to the duchess's lodgings, he assured me that he would never have cause to reproach himself, that, through his complaisance for a woman, he had banished or even disgusted servants, who, like me, were only solicitous for his glory and interest.

MADAM de Beaufort, upon my leaving her apartment so hastily, had expected to see the king soon after: and during that time had taken sufficient pains to set off her person to the greatest advantage, believing, like me, that the victory which one or other of us must now gain, would be the presage of her good or bad fortune. As soon as she was informed of the king's arrival, she came as far as the door of the first hall to receive him. Henry, without saluting her, or expressing any part of his usual tenderness, " Let us go, madam, said he, to your chamber, and suffer no one to enter but yourself, Rosny, and I; for I want to talk to you both, and make you live together upon friendly terms."

Then

Then ordering the door to be shut, and that no one should be suffered to remain in the chamber, wardrobe, or closet, he took her hand, holding one of mine at the same time, and with an air that she had good reason to be surprized at, told her, that the true motive which had determined him to attach himself to her, was the gentleness he had observed in her disposition ; but that her conduct for some time past had convinced him, that what he had believed to be real was only dissembled, and that she had deceived him : he reproached her with the bad counsels she had listened to, and the very considerable faults they had occasioned. He covered me with praises, to shew the duchess, by the difference of our proceedings, that I only was truly attached to his person : he commanded her to get so far the better of her aversion for me, as to be able to regulate her conduct by my advice, since, she might depend upon it, his passion for her should never induce him to deprive me of his confidence.

MADAM de Beaufort began her answer by sighs and tears ; she assumed a tender and submissive air ; she would have kissed the hand of Henry ; omitting no artifice which she thought capable of melting his heart. It was not till she had played over all these little arts, that she began to speak, which she did by complaining, that instead of those returns which she might have expected from a prince to whom she had given her heart, she saw herself sacrificed to one of his grooms ; she repeated all that I had said or done to the prejudice of her children, in order to awake his majesty's resentment against me : then, feigning to sink under the violence of her grief and despair, she let herself fall upon a couch, where she protested she was determined to wait for her death, not being able to endure life after so cruel an affront. The attack was a little strong ; Henry did not expect it : I observed him heedfully, and saw his countenance change : but recovering himself immediately, that

his mistress might not perceive it, he continued to tell her in the same tone, that she might spare herself the trouble of having recourse to so many artifices on so slight an occasion. Sensibly affected at this reproach, she redoubled her tears, crying, that she plainly perceived she was abandoned, and that doubtless it was to augment her shame and my triumph, that the king had resolved to make me a witness of the most cruel treatment that was ever shewn to any woman. This thought seemed to plunge her into a real despair. "By heaven, madam," said the king, losing patience, "this is too much, I know to what all this artifice tends; you want to prevail upon me to banish a servant whose assistance I cannot be without: I declare to you, if I was reduced to the necessity of chusing to lose one or the other, I would rather part with ten mistresses like you; that one servant such as him." He did not forget the term of groom which she made use of; and was still more offended, that she had applied it to a man whose family had the honour of being allied to his own.

AFTER this harsh speech the king suddenly quitted the duchess, and was going out of her apartment without seeming to be moved at the condition he left her in; probably because he knew her well enough to be assured that all this violence of grief was affectation and grimace. As for me, I was so far deceived by it as to be greatly concerned for her; and was not drawn out of this error till madam de Beaufort, perceiving the king was going to leave her so much offended, that she had reason to apprehend he would never return again, changed her behaviour in an instant, ran to stop him, and threw herself at his feet; no longer to impose upon his tenderness, but to sooth him to a forgetfulness of her fault: she began by apologizing for her past conduct; assumed an air of gentleness and complacency,

gency, and swore she never had, nor ever would, have any will but his. Never was there a change of scene more sudden: I now saw a woman perfectly agreeable, easy, and compliant, who behaved to me as if all that had just passed had been a dream; and we separated very good friends.

THE king being at Monceaux about the end of October, felt some slight touches of a fever, which ended at last in a violent attack*; it was attributed to a disturbance caused by a prodigious quantity of humours, which were discharged by a purge; and as the fever seemed to have wholly ceased, the king thought himself cured, and wrote to me to that effect; observing, however, that his indisposition had left a faintness and dejection upon him which was not usual with him, but that he would endeavour to disperse it by walking, if he could get strength enough. These symptoms were the forerunner of a distemper, which a few days afterwards seized him with such violence that he was soon in great danger, and I had the affliction to find him in this condition on my arrival at Monceaux, with Châtillon and d'Incarville, whom he sent for in the letter I have just mentioned. I thought for a long time that I was only come to see my dear master expire in my arms, for he would not permit me to leave Monceaux during his illness, and often called me to his bed-side. In one of these moments when the obstinacy and continual recurrence of his distemper baffled all the art of the physicians, and this prince himself thought that his last hour was approaching; “ My friend, said he to me, you have often seen
“ me meet dangers which it was easy for me to

* In the following manner the historian Matthieu speaks of this disorder of Henry IV. “ While he was very merry with his mistress
“ and Bellegarde, and laughing heartily at some satirical verses, he
“ was suddenly seized with a violent fit of vomiting, which kept
“ him for seven hours together in very great danger, all that time
“ having a constant desire to drink, and still throwing up the water
“ while the glass was at his hand.” Tom. II. liv. ii. p. 277.

“ have avoided, know better than any other person
 “ how little I fear death ; but I will not deny that
 “ I am grieved to die before I have raised this king-
 “ dom to that splendor I intended for it ; or con-
 “ vinced my people, by discharging them of part
 “ of their taxes, and governing them mildly, that
 “ I love them as my own children.”

AT length Henry's good constitution prevailed, and his distemper was removed almost instantaneously † ; so that the grief into which his danger had plunged us, was followed immediately by the joy of his recovery. He had afterwards a slight relapse, which had no bad consequence : he sent me word of this at Paris, whither I had returned as soon as I saw him out of danger. And in another letter, dated the 6th of November, which Schomberg, at his return from Monceaux, brought me to Paris from his majesty, he informed me that his health was perfectly established, except that he had some small remains of that dejection on his spirits, of which he had formerly complained, and which he could not get rid of, notwithstanding he followed exactly the advice of his physicians. The sieurs Marecot, Martin, and Rosset, having, upon the news of his illness, hastened to Monceaux to assist his physicians in ordinary with their advice, he had the attention to cause them to be paid for their trouble, writing to me to give each of them one hundred crowns, and fifty to Rignault his surgeon.

THE king had not yet quitted Monceaux when the cardinal of Florence, who had so great a hand in the treaty of Vervins, passed through Paris, as he came back from Picardy, to return from thence to Rome, after he had taken leave of his majesty.

† It was during this malady that Henry IV. was very much troubled with a carneous excrescence ; which served as a pretext to the duchess of Beaufort, to let him know, by means of la Riviere, his first physician, whom she had gained over to her interest, that he could, after this, have no more children. Amelot de la Houffaye, num. I. sur la lettre 243 du cardinal d'Osat.

The king sent me to Paris to receive him, commanding me to pay him all imaginable honours. He had need of a person near the pope so powerful as this cardinal, who afterwards obtained the pontificate himself: I therefore omitted nothing that could answer his majesty's intentions; and the legate having an inclination to see Saint-Germain-en-Laye, I sent orders to Momier, the keeper of the castle, to hang the halls and chambers with the finest tapestry of the crown. Momier executed my orders with great punctuality, but with so little judgment, that for the legate's chamber he chose a suit of hangings wrought by the queen of Navarre; very rich, indeed, but which represented nothing but emblems and motto's against the pope and the Roman court, as satirical as they were ingenious. The prelate endeavoured to prevail upon me to accept of a place in the coach that was to carry him to Saint-Germain; which I refused, being desirous of getting there before him, that I might see whether every thing was in order; with which I was very well pleased. I saw the blunder of the keeper, and reformed it immediately. The legate would not have failed to have looked upon such a mistake as a formed design to insult him, and to have represented it as such to the pope. Reflecting afterwards, that no difference in religion could authorize such sarcasms, I caused all those motto's to be effaced.

I HAD long hoped that a peace would afford me leisure to examine the finances of the kingdom thoroughly: all that I had hitherto been able to do, was only to alleviate the mischief; and far from having been able to dig to the root, so as to eradicate it at once, the different necessities of the state, which always followed each other so close during the war, made it be looked on as a great stroke of policy to manage the finances without increasing the confusion. It is certain that, upon a closer examination, they seemed tainted with an incurable dis-

ease, which could not even be enquired into without the most unshaken courage and invincible patience: the first glance was able to discover nothing but an universal loss of credit, the royal treasury indebted several hundred millions, no means of raising more money, excessive poverty and ruin at hand; but this very state of despair made it necessary not to delay a single moment the undertaking this great work, while several opportunities concurring shewed at least a possibility of success. Every thing was in tranquility; the pay of the troops considerably lessened, the greater part of the military expences suppressed, the king's council weary at length of making useless endeavours to deprive me of any management of public affairs, almost all business was transacted by me; these gentlemen disdained even to come to the assemblies, unless forced thither by their own interest, or that of their relations or friends: in those assemblies nothing was proposed without my approbation, and nothing executed without my consent; the king had no secret he reserved from me, nor any authority that he did not occasionally invest me with; all these considerations persuaded me that, if the calamities caused by so many long and cruel civil wars were ever to be repaired, now or never was the time to accomplish it.

I HAD received from nature a strong constitution, a body able to support * long labours, and a

* The picture which M. de Perseux gives us of M. de Rosny, altogether agrees with that which we have seen drawn here. He " had especially, says he, a genius turned for the management of
" the finances, and all the other qualifications requisite for such a
" station: in fact, he was a regular man, exact, and a great economist;
" he was punctual to his word, no ways prodigal, without any pompous ostentation, not inclined to profuse expence, game, or women,
" nor addicted to any thing that did not exactly tally with a man bred
" to such an employment; besides, he was vigilant, labourious, expeditious, bestowing almost his whole time on business, and but little
" on his pleasures: withal he had the happy dexterity of seeing thro'
" such sort of matters, and of unravelling the puzzling perplexities,
" and untying the intricate knots, under which the farmers of the
" finances, when they have a mind to be knavish, endeavour to conceal

mind capable of great application, a natural propensity to regularity and œconomy, improved by a particular study of that science during twenty-five years, that I was near the king's person; and, if I may be allowed to say it, a passion yet more forcible for ho-

“ceal their tricks.” Part. 3. P. Matthieu gives him no less high a character. Tom. II. liv. ii. p. 278. “The king gave him,” says le Grain, “the post of superintendant-general of his finances, investing him with so great an authority as had never been seen in that office before: in which, it must be confessed, there wanted a man at that time, who would have his eyes hood-winked to every other consideration but the king's advantage, that is, to the public treasure, which it was necessary to restore to its full vigour; and who would be more rigid than what either the dignity of some persons, or the respect due to others, would have endured at any other time; and indeed this great authority and power, which the king gave him, did, in a little time after, restore full strength to all the main resources of the state.” See the whole of what this writer says, with regard to M. de Sully, liv. vii.

“He put,” says d'Aubigné, tom. III. liv. v. chap. 3. “the finances into the hands of the marquis de Rosny, afterwards duke of Sully, because he found he had a very extensive and laborious genius, as also a natural sternness and severity of temper, which, without regarding the favour of any body, enabled him to bear the unpleasing irksomeness of rebuffs; and by that means, filled the king's coffers, to which the natural disposition of his master did not a little contribute.”

In a small piece, tom. III. of the Mem. d'Etat de Villeroi, we find the following account. “This change in the face of affairs, which the said sieur de Sully had introduced into France, that had been brought to the lowest ebb of distress, rendering it opulent and flourishing by means of his good management and industry, does sufficiently testify his abilities. The remonstrances which he made even to the king's pleasure, and the opposition which he maintained against all the great men, shew his virtue, prudence, and courage. Even those who envy him say, that he alone was of more use to the public, and knew its interest better, than all the rest of the kingdom besides.” The manuscript which we quoted in the preface, coincides with this: and further may be added the suffrage of the greatest part of the historians and memoirs of that time, which all agree, that M. de Sully has, in strict justice, deserved the appellation of the most laborious, the most capable, the most upright, and especially the most steady minister that ever was. The severity, rigidity, and haughty carriage, which are almost the only faults with which he has been charged, arise from the last mentioned quality, that no doubt, was carried a little too far. We shall have occasion to speak more of it in the sequel: but I thought myself obliged previously to add these testimonies, to the account he gives us, of his character and conduct.

nour and virtue : such are the qualities I brought to the conduct of public affairs ; with these, although one cannot keep clear of committing faults, and those likewise very considerable, yet (and experience as well as the success that attended my labours give me a right to say so) one may be assured that the revenues of a state are fallen into good hands, when a moderate degree of judgment, much diligence and exactness, and still more probity, are qualities remarkable in him that governs them. I dare not assume more likeness than this to the portrait I am going to draw of a good minister of the finances, because that, although I have always proposed such an one for my imitation, yet I candidly confess I am far from pretending to set up myself for a model.

It would be the shortest way to say, that a man who is called to the management of public affairs, ought to have no passions ; but that we may not wholly destroy the notion of such a being, by reducing him to an impossible and merely ideal existence, it is sufficient to say that he ought to have such a knowledge of them, as to be able to avoid their influence : he should be sensible of all the meanness of pride, the folly of ambition, the weakness of hatred, and the baseness of revenge. As I intend only to make such reflections as immediately relate to him, I shall not here take any notice of the great meanness of treating people ill, not only by actions but even words, and of never giving orders to inferiors but in the transports of rage, or peevishness of ill-humour, seasoning them with oaths and curses, since, living for the public, he ought to appear affable, and be easy of access to every body, except to those who only come to him with a design to corrupt him, and never to lose sight of this maxim, which holds one of the first places in the affairs of government, That a kingdom ought to be regulated by general rules, and that exceptions

tions only occasion discontent, and produce complaints.

A JUST knowledge of what is due to rank, and of different degrees of distinction, is so far from being contrary to this maxim, that it is essentially necessary to it, as well for observing those rules of behaviour to persons of different ranks, which the French politeness has established, as to cure himself of that error that his riches and the favour of his king, place every other person in a state of subordination to him. An inclination for the fair sex is a source of weakness and injustice, which will inevitably carry him beyond the bounds of his duty; a passion for deep play, will expose him to temptations a thousand times more difficult to be overcome by a man who has all the money of the kingdom passing through his hands; that he may escape this dangerous snare, I am under a necessity of prescribing to him to have no acquaintance either with cards or dice.

A DISLIKE of fatigue proceeds generally from the same inclinations which lead to voluptuousness, or create effeminacy. A statesman ought in temperance to seek for a remedy against a fondness for splendor, and the delicacies of the table, which serve only to enervate both body and mind. A virtuous man ought to be wholly unacquainted with drunkenness; a diligent man ought to be no less ignorant of what is called high living. As he ought to make his retirement in his cabinet at all times, and all hours, not merely supportable, but pleasing; he cannot be too careful to prevent his mind from running on the delights of balls, masquerades, and other parties of pleasure; in all these trifling amusements there is a nameless enchantment, that intoxicates the hearts of philosophers and misanthropes themselves.

THE same caution is necessary against hunting, keeping many servants, equipages, furniture, build-

ings, and all other occasions of expence that luxury has invented. A taste for any of these things soon degenerates into a kind of passion, of which the waste of time is not the only bad consequence; prodigality, ruin, and dishonour, are the usual effects of it: it belongs only to a man who cannot resolve to live and amuse himself with his own company, to think continually of galleries, columns and gildings, and to run all his life after statues, antiques, and medals. Do you learn to be contented with a common picture; the delicacy of procuring, at a great expence of money and anxiety of mind, original and other scarce pieces, proceeds wholly from an affectation of taste.

I AM, however, far from carrying the severity of these maxims so far, as to forbid a man, invested with a public employment, from having any attention to his own ease; and to deny him all kinds of amusement. I would have him indulge himself in moderate pleasures, and take care of his fortune, provided that he does the one without dissipation, and the other without dishonour. It is one of those advantages that attends a disposition not prone to expence, and fond of regularity, that he who is possessed of it, if he lives long, finds himself insensibly in affluent circumstances. To have made a fortune, a phrase that has so hateful a sound, because when it is applied to a man of business, it commonly means nothing but injustice, oppression and cruelty; and when applied to a courtier, nothing but mean tricks, despicable flattery, cringing servility, and even at some times knaveries and treachery, is nothing more than a natural consequence, and even an act of virtue, where all see that the fortune is only the reward of labour, or an honest recompence of good actions: that I may not be mistaken, I will add, that this ought to appear so clearly as to force our greatest enemies to see it and confess it*.

† A great part of the maxims which fill up chap. 8. part. 1. of the Political

It ought therefore to be an established rule, that every man who undertakes the management of the finances, or any other part of the ministry, should make, and renew from time to time, a kind of acknowledgment of the state of his income; that is, that upon his entrance into the ministry he should draw up an exact and particular memorial of his present possessions, and upon his leaving it give in another in the same form; so that whatever alterations have happened in his fortune may be known to others as well as himself. I have already taken care to give the public an account of every augmentation of my fortune, and each new dignity that was conferred upon me, according to the different periods of time when they happened, and I shall still continue this method: but as I look upon this affair to be subject to calculation, I am going to put every one in a way of doing it himself, and shall shew it completely done at the end of these memoirs.

My father's estate being equally divided between me and the only remaining brother out of four that I had, my share of it, joined to my wife's fortune, which was ten thousand livres, amounted only to fifteen or sixteen thousand livres a year; and as it increased but very little during five and twenty years when the king had no means of rewarding his servants, this was my whole income when the revenues of the state were committed to my care. I am sensible that there are many persons who would blush to make such a confession; but for my part I have already said, that in this respect I see only one thing

Political Testament of the cardinal de Richelieu, that treats both of the council and counsellors of the king, is evidently taken from this and many other places of M. de Sully's Memoirs; and chiefly what he says of the four qualities requisite to constitute a perfect counsellor, to wit, capacity, fidelity, courage or resolution, and application. I shall have occasion in what follows to make some remarks upon that which seems overstrained in the maxims and manners of M. de Sully, with regard to what is called luxury,

that

that ought to give occasion for a blush, which is, the infamy of possessing riches either ill or doubtfully acquired: I have neither the reproach of extortion, confiscation, or unwarrantable profits to apprehend; all that I added to my first fortune arose merely from the king's bounty to me, so that I owe all to one God, and one master.

WHAT I had been able to add to my fortune till the present year, 1598, amounted to the following sums; an appointment of two thousand livres a year as counsellor of Navarre; as much as counsellor of state, with a pension of three thousand six hundred livres, which the king annexed to this post: my salary as member of the council, having been augmented by degrees, and in proportion to the services the king found he received from me, was, at this time, brought to twenty thousand livres: the king doubled my company of gendarmes, which at first only consisted of fifty men, and after it was incorporated with that of the queen, of which I was made captain-lieutenant, the pay amounted to five thousand livres: the king made me likewise honorary * counsellor of the parliament of Paris, but without any income. It was at this time, that Chauvelin the younger had the first dispensation that had been granted from the rule of forty days, paying for it four thousand crowns. I shall make but one article of the government of Mante, which had been just then given me, and that of Gergeau which I had afterwards. Such was the state of my fortune at that time, the course of it, till then extremely slow, became very rapid the following years, by the great offices with which his majesty honoured me,

* The letters patent by which Henry IV. made the marquis de Rosny an honorary counsellor, and thereby gave him a privilege of sitting in parliament, &c. dated March 16, 1602, may be seen in the registers of the parliament of Paris; as also the enrolment of these letters, and his admittance accordingly on the 19th of March the same year,

and by rewards so considerable, that when I collect them together, they will make one of the most important articles. I shall take into it his least presents, and even those which I received from other royal persons. Before I enter into the discussion of affairs, and account of the finances which I have promised, since I have begun to inform the public of my personal character, I will finish the picture by giving a detail of my public employments, and my whole manner of living, after I was in a public employment: this is the proper place for it, although, in order to say all upon this head at one time, it is necessary I should suppose myself possessed of all those posts which were not given me till some time after.

SIX days in the week a council was held both morning and evening; the first and most important was called the council of state and the finances, which singly took up the Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, by sitting both in the morning and afternoon; the king was the head of it, and was generally present. The dukes and peers, the officers of the crown, the knights of the king's orders, or those who had a warrant from his majesty, had a seat and a voice in the consultations: here were received and examined all kinds of petitions on any occasion whatever, but especially those relating to the pensions of state, which from this time began to be paid with a punctuality that made them be preferred to every other establishment, and even to landed estates. The three other days of the week were likewise taken up morning and evening with different councils, which were called *conseils des parties*, composed of a certain number of particular counsellors, where examinations were held of things properly referred to each of these councils: if there was any controversy, it was dispatched to the courts of justice to whose cognizance it belonged; and care was taken that justice should be done honestly and speedily. I was a member of each of these councils, and commonly

monly presided in them when the king was not present, which often happened, especially in the *conseils des parties*. I never failed to be at the council of state, the whole business of which lay upon me: all the letters and petitions that were to be presented there were addressed to me; and as the questions that require general deliberations are not very common, it often happened that in communicating the affair, I delivered likewise the resolutions to be taken; and often carried thither arrêts ready drawn up, that every thing might be dispatched at one sitting; and it happened but very seldom that alterations were made. I have always laid it down as a rule, that the answers which were given for regulating the conduct of persons employed in great affairs, cannot be too expeditious, or too distinct; all the time that is spent in contestations is lost time.

IT may be easily imagined how much time these employments demanded: I accustomed myself to rise at four o'clock in the morning, both in winter and summer; and the two first hours were taken up in putting in as much order as possible those affairs that were to be each day brought upon the carpet: a minister who acts otherwise will leave all things in confusion and perpetual disorder, by the different perplexities he will find himself involved in at last. At half an hour after six I was dressed, and ready to attend the council, which began at seven, and generally ended at nine; and according to the importance of the business that was transacted in it, at ten, and sometimes eleven o'clock. It often happened that his majesty, instead of coming to the council, would send for me at nine or ten o'clock, when it was over, and either alone, or with his two ministers of state *, Villeroy and Sillery, walk with us,

* Thus were those called then, who since have been intitled secretaries of state: and such as were named secretaries of state, as M. Forget, M. Lomenie, M. Beaulieu-Rusé, and M. Potier, were properly no more than four secretaries of the finances, or his majesty's
first

acquaint us with his intentions, and give each of us orders relating to our particular employments: from thence I went home to dinner.

MY table generally consisted of ten covers; and being served with a moderation that was not approved of by the lords of the court, especially the epicures, who make a serious affair of refining upon every thing that is eat or drank, I seldom invited any persons to dine with me; so that my table was usually filled only with my wife and children, or at most with some friend who was not more difficult to be pleased than myself. Frequent attempts were made to alter my conduct in this respect, but I always replied to any reproaches of that kind, in the words of an ancient, That if the guests were wise, there was sufficient for them; if they were not, I could suffer the want of their company without trouble.

WHEN dinner was over, I went into my great hall, where it was known that I regularly gave audience, and therefore at that hour always full: every one was admitted, and had free audience; the reply was no less speedy: herein my particular taste agreed perfectly with his majesty's intention. I began with the ecclesiastics of both religions: the country people, who remained last, were kept but a little time in expectation. I took care to dispatch every one's business before I retired; and even sent for those who, staying in the court or garden, had suffered

first clerks. Tho' it appears that none of the three hath been called prime minister of state, yet so unequally was the distribution of the functions of the ministry made between M. de Sully and his two colleagues, and Henry IV. gave the first so great a share, and so much authority in what belonged to their province, that we may say he was in effect, prime minister, only that he had not the name: this title was not at that time much in use; for the chancellor du Prat, under Francis I. the constable de Montmorenci, under Henry II. &c. did not bear it, tho' they solely possessed the confidence of their masters. M. de Villeroi was at the head of foreign affairs, having also the president Jeannin for his colleague. M. de Sillery and Bellévre, who became chancellor some little time after, had the management of all dom. & c. affairs.

the hour to slip. If the affair that was proposed to me was equitable, and depended upon me, I promised in two words the execution of it; if otherwise, I civilly chid the proposer, and honestly forbore to meddle with it: if it appeared doubtful, or complicated, I called an intendant, or one of my secretaries, to whom I gave the papers that led to an explanation of it. And such was my management, that the affair was totally dispatched within a week, if I had promised it; and let the business be ever so much perplexed, the council before whom it was laid always dispatched it within the month.

As to the other councils, which were held on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, I assisted at them likewise as long as I could, before the increase of my employments had likewise increased my business, and even afterwards; but when the direction of the marine, artillery, fortifications, buildings, bridges, and causeys, were entrusted to me only, to which must be added the affairs of my governments, I was obliged to apply to this business in the place of the other; and to devote the mornings of these three days to the dispatch of business relating to these offices, because his majesty thought them of consequence enough, especially that of surveyor-general of the highways, and superintendant of the fortifications and works, to be present at the clearing the accounts of each of these bodies of people, which was done in the presence of the governors and other officers, who were called together in a body on these occasions: notwithstanding this, I did not neglect the other councils, but took care to be present when any important affair was debated, especially when it related to war.

I REGULATED my time in such a manner, that I had still leisure enough for those other affairs, and also for many more which I have not yet mentioned. The extraordinary and unforeseen business I was engaged in, the conversations I had with his majesty,

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the orders and letters I received from him, may be imagined by a general declaration, that this prince not only informed me of whatever happened to him, but also entrusted me with his most private affairs †, his secrets, designs, reflections, private distempers, pleasures, domestic uneasinesses, fears, hopes, amours, friendships, and disgusts; in a word, all was confided to my fidelity and discretion, terms which I am justly entitled to make use of. In all these moments to comply with the king's desires and occasions, there was an absolute necessity to lay aside the most pressing business, to invent schemes, to go upon private errands, answer letters, and undertake journeys; by all which, the affairs of the state would have been injured, if by giving the night as well as the day to these accidental employments, which were not regulated by months, days, or hours; an extreme diligence in resuming those affairs that had been interrupted by them, had not restored every thing to its proper state.

ONE is surprized, in giving this detail, how, with such an exact œconomy of time, there should remain so little for affairs merely domestic: the few moments I could spare for them, I was never able to find but in one of the afternoons of those same three days; and these I snatched by intervals. It was necessary therefore that my wife should accustom herself to do all that I was not absolutely obliged to do; otherwise I must have relied upon people of business, or upon my domestics.

As to amusements, and hours of ease and refreshment, which were necessary to soften the fatigue of such extreme application to business, they were regulated with as much exactness as my most serious affairs;

† "Never any minister had the confidence of his master more entirely than this had; and never was any more worthy of it, on account of his fidelity, activity, continual application to business, and disinterestedness in every thing that related to the king's service." See, *Hist. de France de Chalons*, tom. III. p. 255.

but, like them, subject to frequent interruptions : when, by good fortune, this did not happen, I had no occasion to go out of the arsenal to find them ; for it was in this castle that I resided from the time I was made grand master till the death of my king, which gave me up to the tranquility of a private life. The exercises of the arsenal, which was an excellent school for young people, gave the greatest relief to my mind, especially when I saw my children, my son-in-law, my relations and friends, mingled together : the good company which appeared in the afternoon at that little rendezvous, the exultations which were often heard, the air of gaiety without effeminacy, and of pleasure without negligence, which appeared there, is, of all things which I know, most proper to relieve a mind to which, by long habit of labour, all the amusements of mere idleness have been made insipid. In whatever manner I spent the afternoon, when the hour of supper arrived, I ordered all my doors to be shut, and no person to be suffered to enter, unless he came from the king. From this hour, till I returned to bed, which I always did at ten o'clock, there was no longer any mention of business, all was ease, mirth, and social joy, with a small number of good and agreeable friends.

THE office of prime minister, though at all times laborious, is not always loaded with the same difficulties ; and the good fortune of those is to be envied, who are called to it at a conjuncture, when the whole stream of affairs having for many years run on in a calm and regular course, they have nothing to do but sit quietly at the helm, content themselves with a general inspection, and leave the rest to be performed by that great number of persons who act under their order. This advantage I never enjoyed, as may be perceived by what I have had occasion to say of it at different times ; and, not to touch yet upon the affairs of the finances, which was
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at that time an ocean without bottom or shore, I desire the reader just to cast a look upon the different perplexities which must be met with, without examining foreign affairs; a cabal of disaffected people to watch narrowly, and, if possible, to break; a religious dispute to terminate, a powerful party to satisfy, and a general subordination and scheme of government to establish and cause to be observed. Things were in such a state, that of all those officers of war and *police*, of the finances, judicature, and the king's household, of pensioners, and those that received salaries from the state, nothing more was known than that their number was infinite, and that there was a necessity for learning their names, and marking them all in a register, in order to suppress part of them.

THE affairs of war were in the utmost disorder, the regulation of which did not, as may possibly be thought, depend upon the disbanding part of the troops; there was a necessity for taking cognizance of all the towns and fortresses, most of which were so near destruction, that upon this account, as well as to lessen the number of garrisons that were supported in France, those that were useless were to be demolished; which could not however be done till after the death of those persons from whom it would have been dangerous to take away the governments of them.

THE marine alone might have furnished business enough for one minister for a great number of years; for this part of the state, which requires so much application, does not make a very rapid progress; it can be derived only from that quiet and splendor which a kingdom gains by peace and good government §. It is not to be imagined to what a degree

§ "A nation must be very powerful," says cardinal Richelieu, "after M. de Sully, to pretend to this inheritance, (the possession of the sovereignty at sea) the titles to it being founded more in force than in reason." Testament politique de ce cardinal, part II c. ix. § 5, 6. Cardinal d'Osat, in several of his letters, advises Henry IV, to put his marine on a new footing.

the marine, and the commerce that depended on it, had been neglected in France. I agreed with the king, that this establishment should be begun at the foundation; that the sea-coasts should be visited, and ports examined, in order to take measures for repairing them. That the same ought to be done with those few disabled vessels and galleys that were yet to be found, till new ones could be built; after which, officers should be appointed, and sailors and pilots sought for, who might be stimulated to industry by rewards: in a word, to spare a longer detail, that an absolutely new marine should be created.

ALL this could not be performed but by degrees, and a little at a time. The finances being that part of the body of the state which was most diseased, required assistance first: the greatness of the evil may be imagined, by an inventory of the sums which were drawn from the exchequer to bring over the heads and other principal members and cities of the league to the king's party. This inventory has something curious enough; it amounted to more than thirty-two millions of livres, and is as follows †.

To the duke of Lorraine, and other persons comprehended in his treaty, three million seven hundred sixty-six thousand eight hundred and twenty-five livres: To the duke of Maienne and others comprehended in his treaty, together with two regiments of Swiss, whom the king took upon himself to pay, three million five hundred and eighty thousand livres: To the duke of Guise and others comprehended in his treaty, three hundred and eighty-eight thousand livres: To the duke of Nemours and others, three hundred and seventy-eight thousand livres: To the duke of Mercœur, for Blavet and other towns of Brittany, four million two hundred ninety-five thousand three hundred and fifty livres: To the duke

† Here the old Memoirs have an error, in the calculation, of about one hundred thousand livres.

d'Elbœuf, for Poitiers, &c. nine hundred and seventy thousand eight hundred and twenty-four livres: To messieurs de Villars and the chevalier d'Oise, for Rouen and Havre, comprehending likewise the indemnifications granted to the duke of Montpensier, marechal Biron, the chancellor, &c. three million four hundred seventy-seven thousand eight hundred livres: To the duke d'Epéron and others, four hundred and ninety-six thousand livres: For the reduction of Marseilles, four hundred six thousand livres: To the duke of Brissac, for Paris, &c. one million six hundred ninety-five thousand four hundred livres: To the duke of Joyeuse, for Toulouse, &c. one million four hundred and seventy thousand livres: To monsieur de la Chatre, for Orleans, Bourges, &c. eight hundred ninety-eight thousand nine hundred livres: To messieurs de Villeroi and d'Alincourt, for Pontoise, &c. four hundred seventy-six thousand five hundred and ninety-four livres: To monsieur de Bois-Dauphin and others, six hundred and seventy-eight thousand eight hundred livres: To monsieur de Balagny, for Cambrai, &c. eight hundred and twenty-eight thousand nine hundred and thirty livres: To messieurs de Vitry and de Medavy, three hundred and eighty thousand livres: To the sieurs Vidame d'Amiens, d'Etournelle, marquis de Trenel, Sesseval, du Pêche, Lamet, &c. and for the cities of Amiens, Abbeville, Peronne, Coucy, Pierrefont, &c. one million two hundred sixty-one thousand eight hundred and eighty livres: To the sieurs de Bellan, Quionville, Joffreville, du Pêche, &c. and for Troyes, Nogent, Vitré, Chaumont, Rocroy, Chateau-Porcien, &c. eight hundred thirty thousand and forty-eight livres: To messieurs de Rochefort, and for Vezely, Macon, Mailly, &c. four hundred fifty-seven thousand livres: To messieurs de Canillac, d'Achion, Lignerac, Monfan, Fumel, &c. and for the city du Puy, &c. five hundred forty-seven thousand livres: To messieurs de Monpezat and de Mont-

tespan,

tespan, &c. and for several cities of Guienne, three hundred and ninety thousand livres: For Lion, Vienne, Valence, and other cities of Dauphiny, six hundred and thirty-six thousand eight hundred livres: To the sieurs de Daradon, la Pardieu, Bourcanny, Saint-Offange, for Dinan, &c. one hundred and eighty thousand livres: To the sieurs de Leviston, Baudoin, and Beauvillers, one hundred and sixty thousand livres.

I SHOULD terrify my readers were I to shew them that this sum made up but a small part of that which was demanded from the exchequer, both for the French and foreigners, under the title of pay, pensions, loans, arrears, &c. and that the total of all these sums, after making some deductions, amounted, by the computation I made, to near three hundred and thirty millions of livres: this calculation I would lay down here, but that I think it will appear more properly when I shall treat of the discussion of all these particulars.

HERE was a large field displayed for the labours of a superintendant of the finances; but the difficulty was, where to begin; the exorbitancy of the state-debts demanded an increase of the taxes: but the general poverty, a diminution of the old; and every thing being well considered, I even found it for the interest of the prince, that the cries of the public misery should be heard. It is not possible to give a just idea of the dreadful condition to which the provinces were reduced, especially those of Dauphiny, Provence, Languedoc, and Guienne; the theatres of long and bloody wars and outrages, by which they were wholly exhausted. I granted, over the whole kingdom, a remission of the remainder of the subsidies of 1596, which were yet to pay*; a pro-

* Together with the arrears of preceding years, for which private persons had given their bonds to the receivers of the taxes; some of which bonds, according to le Grain, liv. vii. being seven years backwards, were declared null and void.

ceeding that necessity, as well as charity and justice, demanded. This gratuity, which gave the people time to breathe again, was the loss of twenty millions to the king; but it facilitated the payment of the subsidies of 1597, which had been otherwise morally impossible.

AFTER this relief I endeavoured to procure the country people as many more favours as I was able. being strongly persuaded, that it could not be the sum of thirty millions, which was raised every year in a kingdom so rich and of such extent as France, that could reduce it to the condition I now saw it in; and that the sums made up of extortions and false expences must certainly infinitely exceed those which were brought into his majesty's coffers. I took the pen, and resolved to make this immense calculation. I saw, with a horror which gave new force to my zeal, that for these thirty millions that were given to his majesty, there were drawn from the purses of the subjects, I almost blush to say it, one hundred and fifty millions*: the thing appeared to me so incredible that I could not believe it, till with great industry I convinced myself it was true. After this, I was no longer ignorant from whence the calamity of the people proceeded, at a time when, although commerce was interrupted, industry stopped or persecuted, the farms neglected

† This sum, exorbitant as it is, will not, however, appear exaggerated, if we consider, that besides the extraordinary expences of levying it, which were at that time excessive, the people had still a great number of other impositions and exactions to bear. "For France would become too rich, says cardinal Richelieu, Test. pol. part II. c. ix. § 7. and the people be in too flourishing a condition, if the public money, which other states expend with œconomy, were not squandered with prodigality here. She loses more, in my opinion, than those kingdoms that pretend to rival her lay out in their ordinary disbursements." Upon this he relates a good saying of a Venetian ambassador; to wit, that to render France happy, he wished no other, than that she knew as well how to expend the money she squandered without reason, as his republic did not to spend one single farthing without occasion and the greatest good husbandry.

and without value, and every other kind of wealth diminished in proportion, they had been obliged to furnish a sum so much beyond their abilities, which had been forced from them with the utmost violence.

I THEN applied my cares to the authors of this oppression, who were the governors and other officers of the army, as well as the civil magistrates and officers of the revenue; who all, even to the meanest, abused, in an enormous manner, the authority their employments gave them over the people: and I caused an arret of council to be drawn up, by which they were forbid, under great penalties, to exact any thing from the people, upon what title soever, without a warrant in form, beyond what they were obliged to on account of their share of the tailles and other subsidies settled by the king; the treasurers of France being enjoined to give information of all contrary practices, on pain of being answerable for them themselves.

THIS arret was a check to the greediness of all these petty extortioners, but raised a furious resentment in them against me; and notwithstanding there was something shameful in expressing it, yet many of them made loud complaints of me, as if I had in reality stripped them of their lawful possessions. The duke d'Épernon was the first who explained himself on this head, and ventured to come to a quarrel with me about it: the mortification he had suffered had not lessened the fierceness and insolence of his temper. The Provençals had often blessed the moment when he quitted their province: no people could be more miserable than his vassals, and those that were too near neighbours to his lands; he raised every year, at their expence, a revenue of above sixty thousand crowns.

THE members of the council, to whom this arret gave us much pain as to the duke d'Épernon, informed him of the day when it was to be passed; and he flattered himself he should be able to prevent it. Accordingly

cordingly he came, and took his seat in the council *; and addressing himself to me, made a compa-

* The quarrel which is here spoken of happened on Monday the 26th of October, 1598, at the chancellor's where the council was held. "The duke d'Epemon having told M. de Rosny that he was not obliged to wait upon him at his house, valuing his equality at a very high rate; the latter made answer, with an air ofrodomontade, That he was descended from one of the oldest families in France. Yes, Sir, replied the duke d'Epemon, if you will allow that there is some difference betwixt you and me. Having mentioned his sword, and taken occasion to raise the profession of arms above all others, M. de Rosny returned, That he likewise had a sword, and knew how to use it. To which the duke d'Epemon replied, That he did not doubt that. The chancellor then interposing pacified them: whereupon they began to talk a little more coolly; when M. de Rosny, resuming the discourse, said to him, Sir, you have treated me as if I were some petty tax-gatherer. No, replied the duke d'Epemon, you will find, that I am not come hither to give you any opprobrious language. I am not a person to be used so, says M. de Rosny, interrupting him: such treatment I would not bear from any man alive. I did not intend any affront, says M. d'Epemon. I am glad, returns M. de Rosny, affecting to take his antagonist's last words as an apology, that you did not affront me. I gave no body any affront, replied the duke d'Epemon; and were even that the case, I carry about me what will give satisfaction to persons of my own rank, and to others according to their stations. It was, probably, after these last words, which were very provoking, that both of them clapt their hand to the hilts of their swords. The chancellor and the other counsellors had often enterposed, and at length parted them." The 8055th volume of MSS. de la Bibliot. du Roi, from which I take these particulars almost word for word, relates them, with some other similar circumstances, to shew the hasty and the proud temper of the duke de Sully: and at the same time the whole of this account is given us in such a manner as is not at all favourable to him. Le Grain has also this fact in his eye in what I am going to quote. But tho' he agrees, that a minister ought, above all things, to have a great regard for moderation, yet he cannot forbear justifying M. de Sully: "How was it possible, says he, that he should retrench so many pensions and salaries of officers who did no service for them, refused so great a number of persons that pressinglly claimed and demanded rewards, and have a watchful eye over the many counsels that were given the grandees of the kingdom, which counsels he often turned to the king's advantage, and to their great dissatisfaction, without being invested with a very extensive authority, and shewing at the same time a lofty supercilious carriage? The king too would have it so, to the end that all might be on an equal footing, till he had discharged his duty toward his kingdom and enriched it: for which reason subjects ought not to murmur. And inasmuch as the king testified his approbation of all M. de Sully's actions,

ison, with great arrogance and contempt, of the manner in which he supported the honour of his name, with that in which I disgraced mine, by the new trade I had taken up. To this impertinence I replied without any equivocation, by declaring to him, that every way I thought myself at least his equal. This plainness threw d'Epéron into a rage, instead of that insulting calmness he had affected at first; and he proceeded to menaces, which I heard with no more patience than the rest. I answered him with great spirit: he replied in the same manner: and, without further explanation, each of us laid his hand on his sword. If the persons who were present had not thrown themselves between us, and forced us to go out of the council at opposite doors, a very uncommon scene would have been acted in the place where this debate happened. Our quarrel being related to the king, who was then at Fontainebleau, his majesty was so well pleased with the zeal which on this occasion I shewed for justice, that he wrote to me that same hour with his own hand, and praising my conduct, offered to be my second against d'Epéron, to whom he said he would speak in such a manner, as to prevent him for the future from giving me any more insults of that kind. D'Epéron, perceiving the king was greatly offended with him for this proceeding, asked my pardon in the presence of his majesty, who obliged us to embrace each other.

BESIDES these revenues which the princes of the blood, with the king's sister at their head, and the

“ when his majesty declared to some of the great ones that wanted to
 “ quarrel with him, that he himself would be his second; we are
 “ not at liberty to canvass such proceedings, nor injure his majesty's
 “ memory after his death, nor the duke de Sully's honour during his
 “ life, seeing he acted nothing but for the service of his master. ---
 “ God grant,” adds this writer, after shewing the wisdom and necessity of the king's conduct, and that of his minister, “ that this treasure may be preserved with the same care that it has been acquired.”
 Liv. vii. I thought this remark necessary to be made, as in the sequel of these Memoirs I shall adduce a great many other examples, like the dispute we have just now seen mentioned,

blood,

officers of the crown had contrived for themselves, the people were farther incommoded by the manner of their collecting the revenues. There was not one of these persons who was not a pensioner of the king, under the title of their employments, rewards, gratuities, or treaties made with his majesty on their returning to their obedience to him; and, by an effect of the licentiousness of the past times, it was customary for these officers, instead of addressing themselves to the treasurer or the exchequer for the payment of their pensions, to pay themselves out of the produce of the farms upon which they had assignments; some upon the tailles, some on the excise, others upon foreign commodities, the crown lands, five large farms, escheats, tolls of rivers, *comptables de Bourdeaux*, patents of Languedoc, Provence, &c. The king had no other means of paying more considerable debts which he had contracted with foreign princes, namely, the king of England, and the count Palatine, the duke of Wirtemberg, the duke of Florence, the Swiss Cantons, the republic of Venice, and the city of Strasbourg. His majesty paid in the same manner those pensions that policy required he should allow foreign princes and communities; for France always has made herself a voluntary debtor to all Europe: from whence it happened, that all these different creditors set up new farms for their profit, in the midst of the king's; they had their commissaries and accountants among those of his majesty's, and who applied themselves with equal industry to pillage the people. Certainly there never was a more dangerous, and at the same time a more shameful abuse, that every one, and particularly foreigners, should be thus suffered to concern themselves with revenues of the state; and monopolisers of all nations multiply usuries and extortions in the most audacious manner*, and, with

* This abuse must have drawn after it some consequences of so ruinous a nature, that we cannot too much bless the memory of him

impunity, arrogate to themselves part of the royal authority.

NOTHING seemed to me more necessary than to strike suddenly at the root of this evil, by a second declaration; in which all the foreigners, and natives, princes of the blood, and other officers, were forbidden, on pretence of any claim, title, or debt whatever, to levy money upon the farms, and other revenues of the state; and were enjoined to apply to the exchequer only, for the payment of their pensions, arrears, &c. I saw, unmoved, the storm which such a declaration could not fail of raising against me: in effect, the arret was no sooner published, than every place resounded, with the clamours of the lords, and chief gatherers of taxes; from whose complaints and exclamations, it should seem that they had been reduced to beggary, when they were only brought back to the conditions of their original agreement, and had their payments transferred to different funds. The king, who had great sensibility in his temper, was moved at these complaints, and could not suppose them to be so unreasonable as they were; he was apprehensive that my zeal had probably carried me to commit some imprudence; he therefore sent for me, and as soon as I approached, "Ah! friend, said he to me, what have you done?"

It was not difficult for me to convince his majesty, that I had acted upon principles of justice and regularity; that it was not fit his finances should have any longer so many masters, nor so many different mortgages; that the farms would produce him an income twice as great, as soon as their value should be raised by being in his hands, and that this profit had not before accrued to the different proprietors, but to their agents and clerks; and lastly, that

who had the courage to charge himself with the public odium, entirely to extirpate it; instead of accusing him of a haughty behaviour and stern temper, without which it would have been impossible for him to have accomplished it.

whenever

whenever this was done, it was not depriving them of what was their own, but taking away profits which they had no right to. The king comprehended the justness of this proceeding, but he was perplexed about the discontent he must necessarily give to Sir Thomas Edmonds, agent to the queen of England; a certain German, factor to the duke of Wirtemberg; Gondy, farmer to the duke of Florence; and lastly, the constable, his godfather; the most distinguished persons in his court; and his own sister.

I INTREATED his majesty to send for some of them, to whom I might speak in his presence. The constable was but just gone out of his apartment: he was called back: "Well, godfather, said the king to him, what complaint have you against Rosny?" --- "I complain, says he, that he has put me upon the level with the common people, by taking from me a poor little assignment which I had in Languedoc upon a tax, of which nothing ever came to you." I answered the constable with great civility, that I should be the first to acknowledge myself guilty, if it had been my design that he should lose any thing. I asked him what profit he made of this impost, knowing well that he was one of these persons from whom the contractors exacted the highest price for their services. Monsieur de Montmorency answered my question; and I assured him, that he might depend on being paid the whole sum. "'Tis well, said he, but who will promise me that I shall be paid exactly as I now am?" "I will, replied I, and will give you his majesty for security, who shall never turn bankrupt, I promise you, at least if he suffers me to manage his revenues as I propose to do; and I will be counter-security to him, because I expect, that if I make him rich, he will be so kind to me that I shall never break."

THE constable, who was a plain honest man,

was pleased with my answer, and sincerely approved my sentiments; he even confessed to me, that he had let out the impost in question for only nine thousand crowns a year, out of which he was obliged to give two thousand to the treasurer. "All this I know," replied I, and I am resolved to give you the nine thousand crowns entire; yet the king shall have eighteen thousand, and there will still remain four thousand for me." The constable was amazed; he was not willing to own he had been so greatly imposed upon; while the king in the mean time laughed heartily. However, the next day I brought a person to his majesty, who in his presence took this farm at fifty thousand crowns, in the name of the states of Languedoc. The king offered to assign me, upon this sum, the four thousand crowns, which I had only proposed in jest. I refused it, and told his majesty, that the disorder in the finances, which I was endeavouring to remedy, having mostly proceeded from the easy temper of the deceased king, in appropriating his farms to the gratuities he bestowed on those about him, as well financiers as others, they would infallibly fall again into the same inconveniency, if it was not made a custom for men of business, who served his majesty usefully, to receive their rewards only from his hands. The king agreed that I was in the right, and I lost nothing by it; for having procured twelve thousand crowns to be advanced upon this farm, he sent Beringhen with a present of four thousand to me.

I SATISFIED all those persons who were in the same situation as the constable; and, indeed, what could be more reasonable, than that his majesty should himself receive his own revenues! As for all the rest, whose interest made them deaf to arguments so convincing, I gave myself no more trouble about them. By this article, the revenues of the crown had an addition of sixty thousand crowns.

THIS trouble was slight, compared with that which I found in laying open the tricks of the traders: the most likely means I could think of to accomplish it, was to procure such a general and exact account of the finances as I have mentioned; but here lay the difficulty: I was not satisfied with that which I drew up, as has been observed, in the year 1596 for 1597; nor even for the year following, altho' it was much more exact than the others, because I was under a necessity of regulating my calculations according to the reports, and by the accounts of the intendants and treasurers; from all whom, without exception, notwithstanding the caution I used in chusing them for this purpose, I had reason to expect artifice and fraud. I therefore went to work again this year: I collected all the commissions of tailles sent to several districts, and all the edicts by which money was raised throughout the kingdom: to these I joined the tariffs made in consequence of these edicts, and the leases and under-leases granted by the council to the first and second farmers: I compared all these pieces according to the knowledge which my former work had afforded me in this matter: and at last I thought that I had come for once to the bottom of the business: there were some abuses in the ordinary commissions of the tailles, these, however, were the least; there were much greater in the extraordinary commissions granted before-hand for the ensuing year; but the chief enormities appeared to arise from the under-leases: the farmers that took them from the council, and the treasurers of France, whom the farmers employed, fingered twice as much as had been assigned them; and as these farmer-generals granted under-leases of under-leases, the series of under-leases proceeding without end, produced a multiplication of charges, endless likewise, and afforded no other advantage than that of maintaining in profusion those who did nothing to deserve it; first, the gentlemen.

of the council, then the farmers, and the rest of the subordination, who kept the trade a profound secret into which they had been once initiated.

I WAS transported at this discovery; and by the authority of the king, to whom I had told it, I stopt the produce of the *tailles* paid upon extraordinary commissions, and, without having any regard to them, sent word to the receivers, that they should account for it as for any other money, and should immediately remit it. I annulled for ever the underleases; and ordered, that for the future every part of the revenue should have only one farmer and one receiver. Great were the clamours on this occasion; but the most discreet among the farmers, knowing that these murmurs only served to make them to be taken notice of, and finding that by the suppression of a great part of the contractors, places were likely to become scarce, came in haste to look for me, and took the same farms again upon their own account; with this difference, that their profit came to the king, the value of the farms being doubled §.

IN proportion as my work was improved by my experience, I brought my general state of the revenues towards perfection; it then came into my mind to go on no longer by the forms of accounts, such as the receivers had drawn upon themselves, but to send them some contrived by myself; in which I endeavoured to have every thing clear, and drawn up to the minutest particular. When they were

§ Tho' we are more and more convinced of the justice of this, to wit, that the king should take for his advantage all possible share in the profits of his farms and other revenues; yet we find, it seems, and that with some ground of reason, that since the duke of Sully's time, there has not been made, in this respect, all that progress which his views, and the great care he took, had apparently given hopes to expect. We shall have occasion to enter into this matter at some great length, when our author comes to speak of the farming of the *tailles*, and other imposts, which is the true case of all the difficulties that are to be met with in attaining to the end he proposed, and which all the ministers after him have endeavoured to reach at.

returned to my hands I examined them over again with the utmost accuracy, noting the slightest inadvertance or omission; so that there was soon nothing at all left out, even in the least and most obscure parts of the revenue, because every thing was to be justified by the writings which I ordered to be brought along with it, and which I compared with the utmost attention. Thus I blew up all the mines of the receivers, which were very numerous, such as, pretended differences, bad money, drawbacks, immunities, privileges of office, payments of rent, charge of carriage, fees to judges, and costs of auditing accounts; all these, and more, were very commodiously used to the advantage of the commissioners, because nobody had given himself the pain to rate, according to their real value, all those particulars which, being thus swelled beyond their bulk, swallowed up a great part of the sum received; and the people of the council, who ought to have examined them, knew the advantage of this jargon. So little care was taken of the accounts of the receivers, that a man often quitted his employment, charged with vast sums of arrears, which afterwards sunk into oblivion. I put an end to this custom: I obliged those who came into office to enquire after the men that had gone before them, and used the only method that could have any effect upon them. As long as any arrears remained, they had no other fund for their salaries and allowance. They then knew very well how to hinder these little bankruptcies, instead of favouring them as they had hitherto done.

SEVERAL paymasters, and particularly those of the chamber of accounts, upon whom assignments are most frequently granted, had the ingenuity, to contrive ways of tiring out those who brought the assignments, by frequent delays, till they were content to take part of the money granted them, and to give an acquittance for the whole. I ordered that no

payment should be kept back; and that no money should be taken for prompt payment. This prohibition put an end to all the accounts of the repayment of money payable by the precepts of the chamber, and to the multiplicity both of accounts and charges, by which the king's money was stolen to an incredible degree. From this time we had a clear insight into the finances, and confusion was at an end.

WHEN the general state, of which I have been speaking, with the regulations and different models were drawn up, I went to read them before the council, in the king's absence. I easily perceived that my colleagues were offended at my diligence, and at my neglecting to desire their assistance in my work. However, they contented themselves with answering me drily, and in a jesting manner, that my secretaries had an easy time of it with me: these papers were indeed all written with my own hand*. But as soon as I had left them, they acknowledged that my labour had been infinitely great and exact; and that it would be in vain for the future to pretend to hide any thing from me. Two days after, when his majesty was present in the council, I read these papers again: upon which he asked them their opinions of my accounts. They allowed them to be very right, and said, that for a soldier I was extremely expert in business. I know not whether it was they who were the authors of a piece of slander that was current about that time, namely, that I had employed † Du-Luat to write a book, in which, under

* The present duke of Sully preserves as a choice curiosity, a great part of these manuscripts, with many other originals of M. de Rosny's, which he takes pleasure to shew to such as visit him: he looks upon them as one of the principal ornaments of the museum which his taste for the sciences induces him to augment daily; and these are, in fact, so many glorious monuments of his illustrious family.

† Ange Capel, the sieur Du-Luat. There is mention made in vol. 8778 des Manuscripts de la Bibliot. du Roi, of a book in which he gives many useful hints to the members of the council with regard to the finances: this, no doubt, is the book our author means here.

pretence of giving a new view of the finances, I railed without charity or reserve, at his majesty's best servants. The king assured me, that all the endeavours of my enemies should never alter his friendship for me. In effect, his majesty, from that moment, behaved to me in such a manner, as to make me look upon him rather as a friend than a master; he interested himself in all my concerns, shared in all my joys, and bore a part of every affliction.

I SHOULD be doubly ungrateful if I concealed the obligations I received from this prince: with regard to the finances, they were not confined to the supporting all my proceedings with the utmost resolution (as it happened when the mayor and aldermen of Paris refused to communicate their accounts to me, under pretence that they had no connection with the council of the finances) nor in preventing all my desires, or with the gentlest goodness consoling me under difficulties, as he generally did, by proposing himself for an example: his knowledge and his advice, especially in relation to the finances, had often been of great use to me; and I candidly confess, that without it I should have in vain attempted an enterprize so difficult as a reformation in them. most part of my designs were hinted by him †; and I keep, with the greatest care, whole memorials written, although very long, with his own hand, upon subjects which equally employed us both.

AFTER this I ought to own, with the same sincerity, that most of these praises which were given to the administration of affairs in the reign of Henry IV. ought with justice to revert to him. Others

Du-Luat is represented to us in the Remarks on chap. ix. de la Confession de Sancy, as a quick, ready, and agreeable flatterer, who in a manner bewitched the duke de Sully, his master, with a genealogy, in which he derived his pedigree from the house of Courtenay. Journal du regne de Henry III. printed in 1720, tom. II. p. 477.

† M. de Perfixe, p. 225. likewise assures us, that Henry IV. had thoroughly studied the subject of the finances,

would

would have served him with equal abilities and as much fidelity as me; for it never happens that good subjects abandon their king; it is the king who abandons good subjects. The great difficulty will ever be, to meet with a prince, who in a minister capable of managing his affairs, seeks not for one who will comply with all his inclinations, and sooth all his passions; who uniting great wisdom to great penetration, calls none to those employments but persons whom he knows to have as much rectitude as capacity; in a word, who being possessed of great abilities himself, has not the weakness to envy that advantage in another. This jealousy of merit in a sovereign, which supposes, however, that he is himself master of some degree of it, creates in one sense more disorders in a state, than the hatred he is known to have of particular vices can do good.

WHEN I quitted Brittany I left there regulations for the finances, differing according to the nature and privileges of that province; and afterwards sent thither the sieur de Maupeou, master of accounts, as well to enforce the observation of them, and raise the value of the farms in that province, as to hasten the payment of the money for which I had settled a fund. I likewise sent, for the same purpose, Coenard, auditor of accounts, to Poictou, and Bizouz to Champagne. I appointed Champigny over the toll of the rivers in the district of Orleans and Touraine. But for this time I have said enough of the finances.

I WILL now proceed to incidents of another kind, which by their singularity rendered this year remarkable. It is yet a question, of what nature that illusion might be which was seen so often, and by so many persons, in the forest of Fontainebleau: it was a spectre*, surrounded with a pack of hounds, whose

* Perefice mentions this apparition, and makes it speak with a hoarse and frightful voice, these words, *M'attendez vous*, or *M'entendez vous*, or *Amendez vous*. He ascribes these visions to the delusive arts

Cries were heard, and who were seen at a distance, but vanished when any one approached near to it. A whale was taken on the coast of Holland, eighty feet in length †. The Tiber overflowed in such a manner as to throw down a great number of houses, and laid part of the city of Rome under water. A report was spread in Europe, that the Jews thro' hatred of the christians, had offered the grand signior five hundred thousand ducats to destroy the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem.

BUT the most interesting event, and with which this year was closed, was the death of Philip II. king of Spain, after suffering, for the space of eight or nine months, such agonizing* torments, as a principle of piety only could have enabled him to sup-

of forcerers or evil spirits, *ibid.* part III. See likewise journal de Henry IV and *La Chronologie Septennarie*, ann. 1599, where it is said, that the king and his court, who laughed at this apparition as a fable, saw it one day distinctly among the bushes, in the shape of a tall black man; which so frightened them, that the best was he that could shew the lightest pair of heels. P. Matthieu assures us, tom. II. p. 268, that one day, at Fontainebleau, the duke of Sully, having heard the noise of it, came down, imagining it was the stamping of the king's horses, after his return from hunting. Bongars, *epist.* 184. ad Cameral, tells us, with an air of gravity, that this was the ghost of an huntsman that had been killed in that forest in the time of Francis I.

† See the description of this monstrous fish in the *Chronologie Septennaire*, p. 17. and the account of this overflowing of the Tiber, in cardinal d'Ossat's letters, p. 365. "It was greater (says he) than any recorded in history; so that the whole plain on which stands the city of Rome was under water a pike's height in the streets and houses; and that not one among a hundred could go to hear mass on Christmas-day. This inundation did inestimable damage, &c."

* "For two and twenty days together there was, says Perefixe, a flux of blood from all the vessels of his body; and a little before his death impostumes that broke in his breast, from which there continually issued so great a swarm of vermin, that all the care of his attendants could not destroy them." *Ibid.* M. de Thou, liv. cxx. adds to this a dysentery, tenesmus, dropsy, &c. and he gives as moving a description of the deplorable condition of this prince, as of his patience and religious sentiments under it. Matthieu says, that he had no less than seven fistulas on two fingers of his right hand; and he ascribes this terrible disease to the debaucheries of his youth. He died on Sunday, September 13,

port with that patience he shewed for so long a time : however, this heroism of his was quite lost upon the vulgar. When they reflected, that thro' his avarice and ambition he had almost drowned the new world with the blood of its miserable inhabitants, and on his own subjects exercised equal cruelties, except taking away their lives, they looked upon those infectious ulcers with which his whole body was covered, to be not so much a natural accident, as the effect of divine vengeance. He left a will behind him, which, in my opinion, is too curious a piece to be passed over in silence; it is not certainly known whether he dictated it in his illness, and gave it with his own hand to his son, or whether it was found after his death, with his other private papers, in the box that he had put into the hands of Christopher de Mora, his favourite; but this circumstance, of small importance in itself, is likewise of no consequence towards proving the authenticity of this piece, which is clear from any others. The copy that fell into my hands was sent me by the same person who sent one to the king; this was Bongars, his majesty's agent to the protestants in Germany, who had it from the landgrave of Hesse, and that prince from the cities of Venice and Genoa; and it is in every respect so exactly conformable to those which were sent into different places, that it removes all doubt of its being forged by some of his catholic majesty's enemies †.

IN this piece Philip begins with a candid enumeration of all the faults he had committed, and places

† Notwithstanding what M. de Sully says here, the piece which in his Memoirs is intituled, *Testament du Roi d'Espagne*, is neither the genuine latter will of that prince, nor even a faithful extract of it; which may easily be discovered, by comparing it with the particular and circumstantial one which M. de Thou gives us, liv. 120. But it might happen that this writing, which was likewise called *Instruction du Roi d'Espagne à son fils*, might really have been a secret, and have nothing more in common with the will and testament of this prince, than its being drawn, as is evident, in the same spirit, and in conformity to the same maxims, without the precaution that is common-

at their head his chimerical scheme of universal monarchy, the absurdity of which he earnestly endeavours to make his successor sensible of, by his example, and by that of Charles V. his father, whose instructions he adds to his own, altho' he confesses he had not profited by them. To this will he joins the memoirs which had been left him by that emperor*, to the end that Philip III. might always keep them together. The emperor Charles V. being in the flower of his age, and of a healthy and vigorous constitution, master of Spain and Germany, covered with glory and elated with success, formed the design of subduing the Infidels, and reuniting all the powers of Europe, as well as all the religions, to his. After many years spent in fruitless attempts, he quitted his crown, and with it all his chimerical projects. Philip II. his son suffered himself to be taken in the same snare, and succeeded still worse, which he was desirous his successor should know. The difference of religions, laws and manners among the Europeans; their almost equal knowledge of the art of war, the great number of strong cities with which Europe is filled, and which made as many long and painful sieges necessary; the inconstancy of the several nations, who are always ready to obey the first comer, who offers to assist them in repelling a domination which it had taken immense labours to establish; all these Philip represented as unsurmountable obstacles to so great a design.

HE acknowledges that he had not been always of the same opinion; that the impetuosity of youth had prevented him from making those prudent reflections at first, and that afterwards two great victories, and the divisions which tore the kingdom of

ly used in writings designed to be made public. As to the substance thereof, it is given in the *Chronologie Septennaire*, in the same manner as in these *Memoirs*, only in a different style and order.

* M. de Thou finds nothing in the last will of Philip II. comparable to the wisdom of the dispositions, and the dignity of expression, shewn in that of Charles V.

France to pieces contributed to continue his infatuation, and to make him reject with disdain all the offers that had made been made him for an advantageous peace. And as he thought he had reason to fear that his son would not make a better use of his understanding, it was by a declaration of all that a ridiculous ambition had made him unwisely undertake, that he sought to cure him.

HE therefore acknowledges as a fault, his having endeavoured to get himself declared emperor of all the new world; he accuses himself of a design to invade Italy upon frivolous pretences; to conquer the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, a project which in six years had cost him twenty millions in preparations only for a fleet with which he expected to overwhelm this power: this was the fleet called the Invincible Armado, which, however, was reduced to nothing, at one stroke, in 1588, as soon as it set out; to bring the Low Countries into subjection; to overthrow the French monarchy, by taking advantage of the weakness of the last king, and prevailing upon his subjects, especially the ecclesiastics, to revolt; and lastly, to deprive his own uncle Ferdinand, and Maximilian, king of the Romans, his nephew †, of the empire. He observes, that these intrigues cost him above six hundred millions of ducats †; a proof of which, he tells his son, he would find in the accounts which he left in his cabinet, drawn up and written by himself. He blames himself less for his profusion of money, than that of human blood, which he caused to be shed: and indeed the confession he makes, that he had sacrificed twenty millions of men to his lust of domi-

† “ Philip II. was called, The devil of the south, *Dæmonem meridiana-*
num, because he troubled all Europe, in the south of which Spain
 “ lies.” Notes sur la Henriade.

† P. Matthieu says, that the Indies yielded to the king of Spain two hundred and sixty millions of gold in the space of sixty-four years; and that he might have conquered all Turkey with that treasure only which he spent in Flanders. Tom. II. liv. ii. p. 266.

nion, and laid more countries waste, than all those he possessed in Europe, is enough to raise horror in every mind not wholly divested of humanity.

WHAT has been the effect of all this? This is the reflection which he proposes to his son. Providence, as if it had thought itself concerned to prevent such wicked designs from succeeding, caused him to lose Germany, by the jealousy and hatred of his own relations; England, by the winds and storms; Ireland, by the treachery of its inhabitants, whom its great distance secured from his resentment; France, by the instability of the people, and their aversion to a foreign domination †, and lastly, by the great qualities of their king. So that the mighty preparations he had made, and the torrents of blood that had been shed, procured him no other advantage than the acquisition of the little kingdom of Portugal to his dominions.

AFTER this, Philip made a more particular application of these instructions to the person and situation of the heir to his throne; and reduced to the following articles the politics from which no king of Spain ought ever to depart, and Philip III. less than any other, on account of his tender age: these articles were, first, To maintain with France the peace which Philip II. himself hoped to have concluded before his death, and this as well in consideration of his own interest and quiet, as out of regard to his people:

† In the genuine latter will of Philip II. is an article with regard to Henry IV. the omission of which in our Memoirs is sufficient to prove, that the piece to which this name is given is supposititious; and that is, That this prince being troubled with strong remorse of conscience for the usurpation of the kingdom of Navarre, recommends to his son what had been before recommended to him by his father, namely, to cause this point to be carefully examined by the most able lawyers, in order to restore the crown to its rightful owner, if it should come out so, according to equity. Charles V. had said as much to Philip II. and Ferdinand and Isabel to Charles V. . . . In this manner to refer the executing of a disposition known to be just, to a successor who, one might be assured, would pay no regard to it, is what M. de Thou calls an impudent trifling with the Deity.

To keep up a good correspondence with the pope, and to strengthen it by having always a great many cardinals in his interest: To be upon friendly terms with the emperor and his family; nevertheless, not to suffer the pensions to pass through his hands, which his interest required he should continue to the electors, princes, and prelates of Germany, in order to keep them always attached to him by those largesses; at the same time to take care to foment divisions amongst them, which would afford him the means of turning to his advantage those opportunities that time might produce for acquiring the empire: To be more vigilant on the side of Germany, as there is a greater multiplicity of interests in the northern countries than in any other place. Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, were powers from which he thought there was little to be apprehended; the first, not only on account of its distance, but because the policy of the princes its neighbours, as well as its own, being mistaken, made the king of Poland rather the minister than the master of his subjects: the two others, by reason of their distance likewise, joined to their poverty and unskilfulness in war, were as little to be feared. He took care not to say the same with regard to France, England, and Flanders, which he considered as powers very formidable to Spain, and against which he recommended it to his son, to be always upon his guard.

WITH respect to England *, his advice was, to neglect nothing to prevent the three crowns which comprise the Britannic isles from being placed on the same head; an event which this able politician, from a spirit of prediction, mentioned as very near; and for that purpose not to regret the money which was distributed in those islands to make partisans, and to continue filling them with spies, but of another sort

† They also make him say at the point of death when speaking of England, *Pacem cum Anglis, bellum cum reliquis*, "Peace with the English, and war with all the rest of the world."

from those that were then there, whose fidelity Philip II. thought he had reason to suspect. To cultivate carefully those divisions which a diversity of religions might produce in that state, as well as in France: he considered those which the league gave rise to amongst us as things now stale and useless, since we had a king of Henry's capacity: but to give occasion for many other civil discords in each of those two states, and especially such as might keep them in war against each other, or at least in distrust and suspicion, which might be done, by favouring the pretensions of one upon the other, to which their mutual hatred naturally incited them. To consider as the greatest misfortune imaginable, that stroke which should join the United Provinces, and those two powers already united amongst themselves, in one common interest; since from thence must naturally result a power capable, says he, of subjecting sea and land. To find means to exclude all the princes of Europe from the navigation of the two Indies, an attempt which could meet with no obstructions but from those three powers; and less from France than the two others, because she had no marine; a new motive for gaining possession of the Low Countries, and yet more of England.

HOWEVER, amidst all these counsels that Philip gave his successor, he never advised him to enter into any war, not even with the rebels in the Low Countries, but earnestly dissuaded him from it. The conduct he recommended to be observed with the Provinces was, to grant a general pardon there; to require nothing of the people but that they should acknowledge the Spanish authority; to watch the behaviour of the governors, ministers, and officers, that were maintained there; not to continue them too long, nor to give them a too absolute power, because they would be the persons whom they would have the most reason to fear, if ever they entertained a design of heading the party.

IF, however, Spain could not avoid engaging in a war, Philip was not willing that his successor should be deprived of that knowledge which experience had given him in that respect. He apprised him, that if he proposed not to sink under it, he must not undertake a war but in such favourable opportunities as might, from time to time, present themselves, such as, changes in the government, civil dissentions, faults, or necessities of the sovereigns, &c. This maxim of Philip, that a prince should make himself acquainted even with the most particular inclinations of the princes his neighbours, is so true, and of such vast importance, that no change should ever happen in the states about him, but what he should be prepared for, and in readiness to take advantage of that instant. He concluded this article by shewing the new king, that he is answerable for his actions at the tribunal of a God who judges wars, and, unhappily, not by the same rules which warlike princes lay down for themselves.

AFTER these maxims, which regarded only the government abroad, Philip proceeded to those which he thought necessary for the government at home. He held it just, that a king of Spain, having nations under his command, between whose customs and manners there was as great a difference as distance in their realms, should study to govern each according to their respective character, and all with gentleness and moderation. That he should be acquainted with the talents and dispositions of his counsellors and secretaries, and chuse them himself: That he should likewise expedite all his dispatches, and render himself expert in the use of cyphers, that he might not expose a secret of consequence to be betrayed by a confidant: That he should be careful to seek for men of honour and sufficient abilities to bestow employments upon: That he should avoid giving any person any great cause of complaint, especially those of high quality; he observed, that the prince, his eldest

eldest son †, had suffered by it; and that he should make a just distinction between the ancient and the new nobility, in order to advance the last, as being generally susceptible of pure and disinterested sentiments: That he should lessen the number of the persons that were employed in the revenues, administration of justice, and the officers of the household: and recommended the same conduct to be observed with regard to the ecclesiastics; to which he added, that they, as well as others, ought to contribute to the necessities of the state, not only because they could better afford it, on account of their riches, but likewise because it became necessary for them to do so, if they would not forfeit the respect that was due to their character, by luxury, sloth, and impiety, the ordinary fruits of great riches, and the indolence in which they lived; but that he should increase the number of merchants, husbandmen, artists, and soldiers; by whose industry, labour, and frugality alone, a state is supported against the ruin with which it is threatened by the dissoluteness of the other ranks. All principles, which, like these, tend to maintain subordination and œconomy in a state, against corruption and disorder, merit praise from whatever mouth they proceed.

PHILIP closed his will with the article relating to domestic dispositions. He enjoined his successor to fulfil the promises and other clauses of the infant's marriage. He proposed a match for the young king, in which he had already made some advances, and privately regulated all the articles, which he informed him he would find in the hands of Loo. He observed, that no king ever loved his father's favourite; yet, notwithstanding, he would propose Christopher de Mora for his confidant, who had been his own. Philip III. chose rather to prove

† Don Carlos, prince of Spain: it was by order of his father that he lost his life; and it appears that his crime was rather gaining over the affections of his grandees than treating them with contempt.

the truth of the observation, than comply with the request, and gave Mora's place to the marquis of Doria. He required, as an instance of respect due to the memory of a father, that all those persons to whom he had given employments should be continued in them; but he expressed himself in such a manner with regard to this article, as shewed he rather wished than hoped for a compliance with it. He recommended to his son the doctors Ollius and Vergius, who had attended him in his illness. He mentioned Antonio Perès * as a dangerous man, with whom it was necessary he should be reconciled; and afterwards not to permit him to stay either in France, Flanders, and especially Spain, but in the useless country of Italy. Philip concludes this piece with a short maxim, 'To love God, to endeavour to be virtuous, and to profit by the precepts of a father. It must be confessed, that in this piece there are likewise many more strokes of piety † and resignation to the will of God, who he said had in mercy chastised him in this life rather than the other.

THE first of these articles which was executed by the king of Spain was that relating to his marriage with the arch-duchess of Gratz ‡: he sent immediately after the death of his father to demand her in marriage; and in the beginning of the year following she set out for Spain, accompanied by her

* Antony Perès had been chief minister to Philip II. with whom he fell into disgrace for reasons which have no manner of relation to the subject of these Memoirs: he retired to Paris, where he died in 1611. He was a great politician, and a man of very considerable parts: the following maxim was one of his, which includes a deal of meaning in three words, namely, *Roma, Consejo, Piolago*; that is to say, To gain over the court of Rome, compose the council of proper persons, and to be master at sea.

† "He ordered his coffin to be brought him, which was made of copper, and a death's head to be laid upon a beaufet, with a crown of gold by it;" says la Chronologie Septennaire, where, ann. 1598. we may find, together with an account of all that this prince said and did in his last illness, the history also of his public and private life.

‡ Margaret of Austria, daughter to the arch-duke of Gratz.

brother, the arch-duke Albert, with whom she landed upon the coast of Marseilles, for the benefit of that air. The duke of Guise, who was governor of the province, having notice of it, sent to let the king know of her arrival, and received orders to give this princess a very honourable reception; his majesty destined fifty thousand crowns to be expended for that purpose, and ordered them to be paid at Marseilles. I was upon the point of sending thither, to direct how this money was to be disposed of, either La-Font, or another of my domestics, who was only a footman of my wife's, a man of a low stature and a mean figure, but in whom I had discovered so much capacity, fidelity, and prudence, that I thought I ought to endeavour his establishment: but there was no occasion for it, a person I had upon the spot was sufficient: for the arch-duchess, notwithstanding the instances that were made her by the duke of Guise and the city of Marseilles, would not enter any of the great cities, to avoid the ceremonial, but ordered tents to be set up upon the shore, where she rested and heard mass; the arch-duke, indeed, was so devout as to visit the churches at Marseilles, but went to them incognito, and without any train; and after kissing the relics, returned without either eating or drinking.

THIS marriage united the two branches of the house of Austria by a double tie, the deceased king of Spain having already, on the 5th of May the preceding year, married the infanta Isabella, his daughter, to the arch-duke Albert, who, for that purpose, had divested himself of the cardinal's purple. This princess had, in appearance, a very large portion, since it was made up of no less than the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, Franche-Comté, and Charolois: but the additional clauses that were inserted, that this new sovereign should be excluded from any commerce in the Indies, and not suffered to permit in his states the exercise of any religion

but the roman catholic, without which the donation was made void, reduced it, in effect, to nothing, by the difficulty he would find in obliging the Flemings to accept of such hard conditions.

THE arch-duke, till he could go in person to Flanders, to remove all these obstacles, sent the high admiral * of Arragon thither, in the quality of his lieutenant-general, who performed some actions on the frontiers of Germany; and afterwards his cousin, the cardinal André, who issued out many edicts, but without effect. The house of Austria began to think there was danger in delays; therefore the arch-duke went himself into the Low Countries, taking with him his bride, on the 5th of September this year; the remainder of which was spent in threatening on his side, which likewise produced nothing; so that there was a necessity for coming to open force: and this was the beginning of that long and bloody war between Spain and the Flemish, the progress and event of which I shall take notice of each year.

AT the same time that the marriage of his catholic majesty was celebrated in Spain, that of the princess Catherine with the prince of Bar † was celebrated at Paris. It was upon this establishment that the princess at length fixed her destiny, hitherto so uncertain. During the life of queen Catherine it was first proposed to marry her to the duke of Alençon; but Henry III. would not consent to it, on account of the hatred he bore to his brother. Afterwards, they talked of giving her to Henry III. himself: but this the queen-mother opposed, through

* Consult the Chronologie Septennaire, both as to these military expeditions, and as to all that is here said of the marriage of the king and the infanta of Spain, for the year 1598, 1599. Matthieu, *ibid.* p. 298, &c.

† Henry duke of Bar, who became duke of Lorraine, after the death of his father, Charles II. "The king gave his sister, at her marriage, three hundred thousand crowns of gold for her portion," says the historian Matthieu, *ib.* p. 278.

the aversion she had to the family of Navarre. This princess, in her turn, refused the old duke of Lorraine, because he had children by a former marriage. The king of Spain demanded her, on condition of a strict union between the king of Navarre and him, which the first of these princes would not hear of. The princess was afterwards sought by the duke of Savoy; but in circumstances wherein this marriage might prove prejudicial to the protestant religion, and therefore the protestants themselves threw difficulties in the way. She would not have the prince of Condé on account of his poverty; and refused the king of Scotland, without giving any good reason for it. The prince of Enhalt made likewise his advances. And in those transports of anger with which she was sometimes animated against the king her brother, she reproached him, that he would have thrown her into the arms of three or four other princes, or, as she called them, gentlemen, for the payment of their subsidies. Lastly, her inclination for the count of Soissons made her reject the duke of Montpensier, who was a suitable match for her. At length, the necessity of procuring an establishment * determined her to accept the prince of Bar.

THIS designed marriage was no sooner made public, than the ecclesiastics in general, and the French bishops in particular, then assembled at Paris, found, in the difference of religion of the two parties, a reason for hindering its conclusion, which they did not suffer to escape them. The first measure they took was to hinder, at Rome, with all their power, the dispatching of the dispensation, without which, they imagined, it was not possible to proceed to the declaration of the marriage. In this respect, they

* "Madame," (says on the contrary the *Chronologie Septennaire*, ann. 1599.) "shewed on her part, all the satisfaction imaginable. . . she used to say,

Grata supervenient quæ non superabitur hora.

"For she was a lady that was very well skilled in Latin."

could not trust the care of their interests to one more faithful than d'Ossat, who nevertheless was sent to this court to manage those of the king. But this is not the first time, nor will it be the last, that this ecclesiastic has suffered from me, and will again, the reproach of having not only exceeded but betrayed his commission. If I may give credit to the memorial from Rome which has been already mentioned, d'Ossat, in the name of the whole party of whom he was the instrument, neglected nothing to dissuade the pope from granting the dispensation †, which he was

† Cardinal d'Ossat, in his letters, does not begin to speak of his negotiation for obtaining the dispensation in question, till after the duke of Bar had come himself to solicit it at Rome in the year 1600, when he resumed again, by order of the king, the making of new instances on this head. He tells us, by the bye, the reasons upon which the pope founded his refusal of the desired favour: "His holiness," says he, "having told at Ferrara, M. Luxembourg and myself, when we required the said dispensation, that he neither ought nor could grant it, by reason that one of the parties did not only not desire it, but did not acknowledge him as the pastor of the catholic and apostolic church, nor as having any power to grant a dispensation; and in like manner, did not believe that marriage was a sacrament, nor that it was unlawful even for cousin-germans to intermarry. These reasons of the pope, adds he, still continue in force." And on every occasion, indeed, he so enforces them by all the theological arguments imaginable, that there is no reader but must conclude, that a man, who was so thoroughly persuaded that the pope could not in conscience consent to the dispensation, insisted on it very faintly; and endeavoured to oblige the courts of France and Lorraine, by all possible means, to procure previously the conversion of the princess; without which, according to him, this affair could never be brought to a happy issue. However, we may see, on the other hand, that M. d'Ossat executed the king's orders, and was even beforehand with his master in that respect, with so much assiduity, fidelity, and zeal, that we must, from his letters, be obliged to do him the justice to own, that he served his majesty, even in contradiction to his own real sentiments, as much as possibly he could. A proof of this, which alone preponderates every other consideration, is, that in spite of all these obstacles, he at length obtained, a long time after, it is true, this dispensation which he had despaired of. I find in all this cardinal's letters a great deal less foundation for the second motive that is here ascribed to him. In order to lay before the world in the gross, that which will be displayed by piecemeal in its own time, my opinion concerning this prelate's sentiments on all the different subjects whereon he is attacked, keeping always to the conjectures that may be drawn from his letters, as this: He loved the king's person: he thought there was no good policy

particularly employed by his majesty to solicit. These persons gave his holiness to understand, that if he continued firm in his refusal to grant this favour, it would produce two things equally to be desired; one, that the princess would turn catholic; the other, that such a change would be thought by the protestants an effect of the violence used to her by the king her brother, for that purpose, which would increase the distrust they already openly shewed of his majesty, make them consider him as their enemy and declared persecutor, and bring on, at length, that intestine war which, according to them, was so much to be desired, for the interests of the holy father and the true religion.

THE clergy did not stop here; they made remonstrances severe enough to merit the title of threats. His majesty had the complaisance to listen to them, and permitted a conference to be held, in which doctor Du-Val on one side, and the minister Tilenus on the other, endeavouring to support their cause, debated with much heat, and, in my opinion, to little purpose; though each boasted afterwards, that he had vanquished his adversary. I speak as one who was a witness of the dispute, for I suffered myself to be drawn along with the crowd which ran thither, as to a very interesting spectacle. I did not come in till toward the conclusion, when the two disputants were beginning to sink under the fatigue. I know not for what reason they were desirous of making me play the part of a judge upon this occasion; probably because they were informed I had been

policy that could be independent of religion: he was prepossessed, that the interests of the latter are no where in such safe hands as in those of the pope, the jesuits, and all such as had maintained it in the days of the league. He did not at all like Spain, much less the house of Austria, or the duke of Savoy; and he had an utter aversion to the calvinists. See on the subject of the dispensation, p. 430, 492, 519, 596, 615, 701, 717, 727, 758, 769, &c.

employed by his majesty to draw up the articles of marriage between the princess Catherine and the prince of Bar. They were beginning to repeat to me all the points of a dispute, which had already taken up several hours; but I earnestly intreated them to spare me either this trouble or this honour, telling them that if two such learned men had not been able to reconcile the canon and decrees of the pope with the holy scripture, or to prove that such a task was impossible, it could not be expected that such an ignorant person as I should be equal to it; and this was really my opinion.

THIS conference not having produced all the effects the clergy expected from it *, and finding likewise that they succeeded no better at Rome, they declared, that nothing should be capable of prevailing upon them to give their consent to this marriage. Little regard would have been paid to this; but as there was a necessity for getting a bishop to perform this ceremony, and that all those gentlemen held together, hence arose an obstacle, upon which they founded their last hopes.

IN this perplexity the king was advised to have recourse to the archbishop † of Rouen, from whom, being his natural brother, and obliged to him for the bishopric, more complaisance was to be expected; besides, his majesty, as well as all France, knew this prelate to be not very scrupulous (to say no more) in matters of religion. However, upon the first propo-

* This conference was held in the presence of the lady Catherine: "But," says the Journal d'Henry IV. "because the doctors of the Sorbonne made use of such subtil and scholastic terms as the said lady did not at all understand, the calvinist ministers easily persuaded her to continue in her religion." Perefixe says, that the king not being able to accomplish her conversion, though he made use of threatenings, said one day to the duke of Bar, "My good cousin, 'tis your business to break her."

† Charles, the natural son of Antony of Navarre by mademoiselle de la Beraudiere de le Guiche, otherwise called la Rouët, who was one of the maids of honour to the queen-mother.

sition made him by the king, the archbishop, like a devout rebel, overwhelmed him with citations, as often ill as well chosen, from the holy fathers, the holy canons, and the holy scriptures. The king, astonished, as may be well imagined, at such uncommon language from a man who generally talked of quite different matters, could hardly hinder himself from laughing in his face, asking him, by what miracle it was that he had become so learned and conscientious? Supposing, however, the archbishop might be wrought upon by serious arguments to comply, he tried their efficacy; but finding him still untractable, he grew angry, and reproached him with his ingratitude. "Since you carry it so high," added Henry, resuming his first air of pleasantry, "I will send you a great doctor, your usual confessor, who is wonderfully skilful in cases of conscience." This great doctor and director of consciences was Roquelaure, an old companion of Monsieur de Rouen's, and an actual sharer in his debauches, by whose intreaty he had obtained the archbishopric. The prelate understood perfectly well the meaning of this little threat; and the embarrassment he appeared to be in was a proof that he was under some apprehensions of those great advantages which an accustomed familiarity would give Roquelaure over him, without the addition of those which he derived from that wit which all the court acknowledged to be free, ingenious, and fruitful in the most happy sallies; and the archbishop himself was not often guilty of carrying too far the respect due to the episcopal character.

THE king having quitted monsieur de Rouen, sent for Roquelaure. "Do you know, Roquelaure," said he to him, "that your archbishop takes upon him to play the prelate and doctor, and would quote the holy canons to me, which I believe he understands as little of as you or I; however, by his refusal my sister's marriage is stopped: there-

“ fore pray go to him, and talk to him as you used
 “ to do, and put him in mind of past times.”

“ By the Lord, sire,” replied Roquelaure, “ this
 “ is not well done of him ; for it is high time, in
 “ my opinion, that our sister Kate should taste the
 “ sweets of marriage. But pray, sire, tell me what
 “ reasons this fine fellow of a bishop gave you for
 “ his refusal? he seldom has much better to give
 “ than myself. I will go to him and teach him
 “ his duty.”

HE did not fail to perform his promise. “ What
 “ is this I hear, archbishop?” said he, as soon as he
 “ entered his apartment : “ they tell me you have been
 “ playing the coxcomb ; by the Lord, I will not
 “ suffer it ; it derogates too much from my honour,
 “ since every one says you are governed by me.
 “ Know you not that at your entreaty I became
 “ your security to the king, when I prevailed upon
 “ him to give you the archbishopric of Rouen ;
 “ therefore I desire you would not make me out a
 “ liar, by continuing thus obstinately to act like a
 “ fool : this might do between you and I, who are
 “ often seen quarrelling at dice, but such disputes
 “ must not be thought on when our master’s service
 “ and his absolute commands are in question.”

“ MERCIFUL God !” replied monsieur de Rouen,
 “ what is this you would have me to do, Roque-
 “ laure? What! must I make myself ridiculous,
 “ and suffer the reproaches of all the other prelates,
 “ by an action which the whole world agrees is un-
 “ justifiable, and which every one of the bishops to
 “ whom it has been proposed by the king has re-
 “ fused?” “ Hold a little, pray,” interrupted Ro-
 quelaure : “ there is a wide difference between them
 “ and you ; for those men have puzzled their brains
 “ so much about Greek and Latin, that they are
 “ become fools——and you are the king’s brother,
 “ and obliged to obey all his commands, without
 “ any hesitation : the king did not make you an
 “ arch-”

“ archbishop to preach to him, and quote the
 “ canons, but to do whatever his service required :
 “ if you continue this perverseness and obstinacy, I
 “ will acquaint Jeanneton de Condom, Bernarde
 “ l’Eveille, and master Julian, with the whole
 “ story : do you understand me ? don’t let me tell
 “ you this a second time : know, that nothing ought
 “ to be so dear to you as the king’s favour, which,
 “ together with my solicitations, have done you
 “ more good than all the Greek and Latin of the
 “ others : By the Lord, it is a fine thing to hear
 “ you talk of the canons, of which you know as
 “ little, as of High-dutch.” Monsieur de Rouen
 endeavoured to persuade him, that he ought to quit
 that ludicrous style, which was agreeable enough
 when he was in his youth ; and hinted something
 concerning paradise to him. “ How ! paradise !”
 interrupted Roquelaure : “ Are you such an ass to
 “ talk of a place where you have never been, where
 “ you know not what is doing, or whether you
 “ shall be admitted when you attempt to get in, till
 “ another time !” “ Yes, yes,” said the arch-
 bishop, “ I shall be admitted there, I do not doubt
 “ of it.” “ You talk finely,” said his companion,
 pressing still harder upon him. “ By the Lord, I
 “ believe paradise is as little designed for you as the
 “ Louvre for me : but let us lay aside a little your
 “ paradise, your canons, and your conscience †, and
 “ do you resolve to marry the princess to the prince
 “ of Bar ; for if you fail, I shall take from you
 “ three or four paltry Latin words that you have al-
 “ ways in your mouth ; farther the said deponent
 “ knoweth not : and then adieu to the cross and
 “ mitre ; and, what is worse, to your fine palace of
 “ Gaillon, and revenue of ten thousand crowns.”

† There is something original in the turn of this conversation ;
 but the author might very well, one would think, have spared some
 expressions which savour a little of libertinism.

MANY other things passed between these two men, which may be guessed at by this sample. Roquelaure would not leave the archbishop till he had made him promise to marry the princess, and accordingly he was the person that performed the ceremony †. I received from both parties very magnificent presents, in return for the pains I had taken; among others a Spanish horse of great value, which was given me by the duke of Lorraine: I sent him to his majesty, who ordered me to keep him.

THIS was not the only occasion on which the clergy were against the king; they made a more resolute and likewise a more important opposition against the registering the edict of Nantes, which always appeared to them a difficult morsel to digest: as they had for almost a year held an assembly at Paris on this account, they had had time to prejudice the parliament, and other sovereign courts, as well as the Sorbonne, against this edict. All these bodies, as soon as it was published, rebelled, and occasioned disorders that may be better imagined than described. It was the subject of all discourse, every one applied himself to criticise the piece, and to offer different arguments against it, all which were far from being just, as well as the reasons the parliament gave for not registering it: but that candour and sincerity I have proposed to observe here in matters that nearest concern me, oblige me to confess, that they were not absolutely to blame.

For example, the protestants, by one of the articles of the edict, were permitted to call and hold all

† “The ceremony was performed one Sunday morning,” says the *Chronologie Septennaire*. . . . “The king came to fetch the lady Catherine, his sister, when she was dressed; and leading her by the hand into his closet, whither her said future spouse had come before her, he ordered M. . . . the archbishop of Rouen, to marry them, &c. and that it was his pleasure it should be so. This the archbishop at first refused, alledging, that the usual solemnity ought to have been observed therein. To which the king very learnedly made answer, That his presence supplied the want of all other solemnity, and that his closet was a consecrated places,

sorts of assemblies, convocations, &c. when and where they pleased, without asking leave either of his majesty or the magistrates: and likewise to admit in them all foreigners whatever, without acquainting any superior tribunal; as also on their side, to be present, without licence, at the assemblies which were held amongst the foreigners. It is very plain, that a point as absolutely contrary to all the laws of the kingdom, as prejudicial to the authority of the king †, the right of the magistracy, and the utility and quiet of the people, could not have been maintained but by stratagem; and it was upon this point likewise that the enemies of the protestants insisted chiefly, in the several remonstrances they made to the king, each alledging those arguments in which they were most interested. The parliament remonstrated, that this article completed the ruin of their authority, which the clergy had already confined to such narrow limits, as well as the king's (for it was pretended, that these two authorities were so closely connected that they could not be separated) that if appeals against the irregular exertion of ecclesiastical authority should be taken away, they would have only the shadow of any power. The clergy and the Sorbonne complained of the superiority this concession would give the protestant over the catholic church in France, which had never been possessed of

† “ This point,” says le Septennaire, “ the marechal de Bouillon had managed with some persons, who perhaps were not aware of the danger of it; but the sieur Berthier, who was agent for the clergy, and bishop of Rieux, disputed it so warmly with the marechal, in the presence of the king, that after hearing his reasons, and in regard of the importance of the point itself, his majesty ordered it to be erased.” Ann. 1599. p. 66. This account of M. Cayet's agrees with that of F. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 280, & seq. so that the article of the edict of Nantes, which was so warmly contested, being apparently the eighty-second, is at present as disadvantageous to the calvinists, as it was formerly favourable to them; since it forbids them all cabals, negotiations, intelligences, assemblies, councils, leagues, associations, either in or out of the kingdom, assessments and raising of money, &c. without his majesty's express permission.

so large a power in its jurisdiction; and this was certainly true. Lastly, they enumerated all the bad consequences which this absolute independance of the French huguenots might produce, either amongst themselves, or their associations with all the enemies of France in Europe.

THE king had not yet examined the edict with care; all he knew of it was from a slight reading, in which he had, doubtless, glanced over this clause, or probably wholly omitted it. The surprize he discovered to those who talked to him in that strain, shewed he had been deceived; and he promised them to consider it attentively, and give them an answer. When they left him, he immediately sent for me, and shewing me the edict, I concealed from him none of the sentiments I have delivered here: I added, that by too great zeal to make that article advantageous for the protestants, I thought he was doing them a mischief, in that it would give large scope for all the slander that would be invented against all the worthy men of the party, of their intriguing with foreigners against the state, or of suffering themselves to be suborned. Henry, still more confirmed in his opinion, sent me back with orders to prepare myself to support all these motives in the assembly of the protestants, which he would have to be called immediately; while he, in the mean time, went to demand an explanation of the edict from those who had drawn it up.

MESSIEURS de Schomberg, de Thou, Calignon, and Jeannin (for the king sent directly for them all four) were greatly disconcerted by the reproaches the king made them of having abused his confidence. Schomberg and de Thou, in the name of them all, replied, that they had been obliged to act in the manner they had done, by the threats of messieurs de Bouillon and de la Tremouille, who declared in the name of the whole party, that if this article was denied to them, they would break all agreement,
and

and even commence war against the catholics ; which seemed to them of the utmost consequence, the peace with Spain labouring at that time under great difficulties. The king contenting himself with this excuse, ordered Berthier, syndic of the clergy, to report it to the assembly, and to add from him, that amongst four persons, to whom he had committed the care of drawing up the edict, there being no protestant but Calignon, he could not persuade himself that the three others would have given the protestant religion such an advantage over the catholic. The answer made by the bishops shewed plainly, that they had not the same opinion of those three gentlemen that his majesty had ; they were treated in full assembly as false catholics, who in many articles agreed with the protestant, and had no scruple about the rest. Whilst we condemn this second imputation * as it deserves to be, we still allow, that with regard to the first, every thing made against the writers of the edict ; and that their reply to his majesty did not so effectually destroy the opinion that might be conceived of it, as the silence they observed in his presence gave it strength †.

THE duke of Bouillon, however, had certainly those sentiments they attributed to him. By endeavouring to come at the bottom of the affair, I learnt

* If a certain private conversation be true, which d'Aubigné, makes the president de Thou to hold with the duke de la Tremouille, when he was sent by his majesty to the assembly of the calvinists, the suspicions of the clergy would not be ill-founded : " You have too much judgment," says the president to him, " not to know very well, that considering the point at which matters now stand, and the concessions we have already made you, the demands which you may make are not at their utmost height M. de Schomberg is a lutheran, and very far from being a good calvinist ; as for my own part, you shall know the inmost thought of my heart." Tom. III. lib. v. ch. i. But it is very probable that d'Aubigné has related this conversation upon the credit of persons not to be depended on, as also some other points of his history, which at that time drew an arret of parliament upon that work.

† M. de Sully's sincerity in all this is so remarkable, that we cannot, in my opinion, sufficiently admire it in a protestant.

that

that he had in reality discovered an insurmountable obstinacy: but was there no other means to make the others more reasonable? and then, what could he do by himself? If all the protestants were like the duke de Bouillon, what could the writers of the edict mean by this blind compliance with their inclinations? was the king and the realm to be betrayed for necessity? as nothing could be thought worse than that by honest and skilful negotiators, they can hardly be charged with such a notion. For my own part, I always thought Bouillon the sole favourer of the project contained in that article, as he had been the author of it: he considered only himself, and disregarded others. I will now shew the ultimate design of all his politics.

THE duke of Bouillon, in order to terminate in his favour the dispute for precedency between him and the dukes and peers of France; as well as the mareschals that were more antient than him, formed a design to get his sovereignty of Sedan † declared a fief of the empire. But this prerogative was not to deprive him of all communication with the protestant French lords, otherwise he would lose more than he gained. The medium he thought upon to reconcile his interest with his ambition, was to have his church of Sedan comprehended in the protestant churches of France. This he did by means of the article in question: mean time he would continue to make himself be treated as a foreign prince.

BERTHIER came back to the king, to give him an account of the disposition in which he found the prelates of the assembly, together with the result of their deliberations; which was to take from the four persons who drew up the edict all cognizance of the affairs of religion; and the disputed article, and some others less essential, should be mended; which his majesty likewise promised.

† Consult l'Historic du duc de Bouillon, which we have quoted several times already, liv. v.

NEVERTHELESS, the assembly of the chief protestants then at Paris having been summoned the day after that in which this agreement betwixt the king and the commissaries was made, I received, as usual, a note inviting me to be there. I had left off going to these assemblies, ever since I perceived that my presence laid a restraint upon three or four of the leading men in it, and was good for nothing but to produce altercations. I deceived them, by presenting myself at this. The duke of Bouillon easily comprehended the design which had brought me there thus contrary to my usual custom, and hinted as much with an ironical severity; which I answered, by excusing myself on account of the multiplicity of affairs that took up my time, and by feigning not to know the occasion on which the present assembly was held. I gave no attention to the sullen air which the duke de la Tremouille assumed, nor the expression he let fall to intimate, that he was not persuaded of the truth of what I said; but went and seated myself near messieurs de Moüy, de Clermont, and de Sainte-Marie-du-Mont, who informed me of the business that was to be brought upon the carpet; assuring me, that the article which had made so much noise was disapproved of by almost all the protestants; and that none but messieurs de Bouillon, de la Tremouille, du Plessis, and some others of the cabal, insisted on it, in order to bring on a civil war. They could not obtain their point, notwithstanding the tumults they had occasioned, and the clamours they made in the assembly. When it came to the vote it was carried against them, the contrary opinion prevailed, and with reason, for the best arguments were on our side*.

* The edict of Nantes was at length verified on Thursday the 25th of February this same year, after many difficulties started by the clergy, the university, and parliament. It was upon this occasion that Henry IV. told the bishops; "You have exhorted me concerning my duty; let me now exhort you concerning yours: let us ex-
cite a mutual emulation in each other, which of us shall perform
" their

THEY likewise agreed upon some qualifications with regard to two or three other articles, in which the public good did not seem to be sufficiently considered. The justness and mildness of Henry's conduct was acknowledged by every one. After the affair was thus settled, he explained his motives to the greater number; and for the rest, he thought only of hindering them from doing worse.

HE acted with the same prudence with respect to some disaffected catholics, who being unwilling to appear openly themselves, brought one Martha Broffier, a pretended demoniac, in play, who was become the object of the people's curiosity, who are always struck with the marvellous, whether true or false. It is indeed surprizing, that a matter so ridiculous in itself, and which was even below the consideration of the mob, should be talked of for a year and a half, and become an affair of state: one

“ their parts the best. My predecessors gave you good words; but, I, with my grey jacket on, will shew you good deeds: though I am all grizzled without, yet I am all gold within: I will look into your papers, and answer them as favourably as I can.” The following was the return he made to the parliament, when they came to make him remonstrances; “ You see me in my closet, where I come to speak with you, not in my royal robes, nor with my sword and other military habiliments on, as my predecessors were wont, nor like a prince who is to receive an ambassador, but clad like the father of a family, in his plain doublet, to speak familiarly with his children; what I have to say to you is, to intreat you would register, with the usual solemnities, the edict which I have granted to those of the calvinist religion. What I have done is for the sake of peace, which I have concluded with the neighbouring powers around me, and would have the same observed within my own dominions.” After he had told them the reasons that induced him to make this edict, he added; “ Such as would hinder my edict from passing, are for war, which I will to-morrow declare against the protestants, but I will not carry it on, I will send them to it. I made the edict, and would have it observed: my will ought to be a sufficient reason; for in an obedient state they never ask their prince any other. I am king, I speak to you as such, and I will be obeyed.” Peref. *ibid.* and *Journal de Henry IV.* *ibid.* See al'o in *M. de Thou*, and in *le Septennaire*, ann. 1599. the several modifications which were added to the edict of Nantes and all the conferences held on this occasion.

half of the world suffer themselves to be dazzled by every thing that seems to be supernatural, and others are kept in awe, not by the thing itself, but by the motives upon which it is founded. Martha Broffier met with many protectors among the clergy, even as far as Rome, whither she took care to be carried. The king, without any extraordinary notice, allowed * both the time and means necessary to make itself known: after which, the whole trick ended in the general contempt of its authors and actresses.

* We have a very curious account of all that relates to this pretended demoniac in M. de Thou, at the beginning of book cxiii. ann. 1599. an abstract of which is as follows: One James Broffier, a baker at Romorantin in Sologne, taking a dislike to his own trade, turned conjuror, with a design to travel about the country with his three daughters, Martha, Silvina, and Mary; the eldest, who is the person spoken of here, had succeeded so well, by the instructions which her father had given her, to counterfeit a demoniac, that she imposed upon every body at Orleans and Cleri, except Charles Miron, bishop of Angers, who found out the imposture, by putting common water in the place of holy water, and holy in the place of common; by repeating a verse from Virgil instead of the beginning of the exorcism, and touching her with a key instead of his episcopal crozier. This did not hinder her from coming to Paris, where she pitched on the church of St. Genevieve for the scene on which to shew herself to the people, who flocked thither in great numbers. She imposed upon all the credulous ecclesiastics, and upon the capuchins, who began to exercise her in good earnest; and even upon some physicians whom Henry IV. had sent to see her: though all the rest deposed formally against her, especially Michael Marefcot, one of the physicians, who publicly convicted her of not understanding Greek or Latin, and having no greater capacity than what is common to her sex; and, in short, of being an impostor and arrant cheat. But notwithstanding all this, the ecclesiastics and preachers knew so well how to interest religion in this affair, and the pretended demoniac played her part so well, that the arret of parliament, that enjoined her, as also her father, to return home, how wise and reasonable soever it was, occasioned strange murmurings, and almost a revolt in Paris: and this gave the king a deal of uneasiness, who saw, that what enemies he had remaining of the old league, did appear again on this occasion. Alexander de la Rochefoucaut, lord of Saint-Martin, and count de Randan, even undertook to revive this affair, by causing Martha to be sent to Avignon, and thence to Rome, where she gained still more partisans. But, unluckily for her, cardinal d'Osset was there, who employed himself so effectually in this affair, that at length Martha and all her family saw themselves utterly abandoned: and they lived and died despised and quite miserable. Consult also the other historians.

THE death of a great many persons of distinction afforded matter for other discourse. The chancellor de Chiverney, Schomberg, and d'Incarville; all three members of the council of finances, dying within a short time of each other, occasioned a great alteration of affairs: the seals were given to Bellievre; the office of comptroller-general, which d'Incarville had possessed, was, at my solicitation, granted to de Vienne; and that of superintendant of the finances was restored in my favour. Henry having sent for me to the garden of the Tuilleries, where he was walking, told me that he was resolved to entrust the care of the finances to one man only; and assuming a very serious manner, made me promise to give freely my opinion of that man, when he should name him to me. Having assured him that I would, he smiled, and tapping my cheek, told me, that I had reason to know him well, since it was myself. His majesty bestowed on me likewise the post of surveyor of the highways, for which he sent me the patents, together with those of superintendant of the fortifications. And Sancy, resigning himself up to his usual whims*, having thought proper to retire from the council, and to give up the office of overseer of the works, the king added these employments likewise to the other favours he had loaded me with. The appointments for the superintendancy were settled at the rate of twenty thousand livres; those of surveyor of the highways, and of Paris in particular, were ten thousand livres.

His majesty was so well pleased with this method of fixing the rate of salaries, that he was likewise desirous of regulating in the same manner the rewards he proposed to grant me, as well, he said, to prevent me from expecting a gratuity for every considerable service I did him, as to spare himself the trouble of causing all the presents he made me to be

* Joseph Scaliger speaks, as well as our author, of M. de Sancy as a fanatic, and as very subject to enthusiastic reveries.

registered, since without that, I would not receive any from him, however little their value was: he therefore declared to me, that all those rewards and presents should for the future be comprized in one settled gratuity which should be paid me the beginning of every year, in the form of letters patents, registered by the parliament; and asked me beforehand if I was satisfied with the sum, which was sixy thousand livres: adding, that it was his desire, that with this money I should purchase estates, which I should be at liberty to dispose of in favour of those of my children who made themselves most worthy of my affection, in order to keep them more firmly attached to me. This goodness of the king's merited my most grateful acknowledgments. However, this regulation which I have mentioned here was not made till the year 1600, and did not begin to take place till the year 1601.

MADemoiselle de Bourbon † died likewise this year: and monsieur d'Espinac †, archbishop of Lyons, who may be said to have tasted all kinds of fortunes; then madam la Connetable; and after her madam de Beaufort: these two last deaths made a prodigious noise every where, and were attended with a great familiarity of very uncommon circumstances; both were seized with a violent distemper, that lasted only three or four days; and both, though extremely beautiful, became horribly disfigured, which, together with some other symptoms, that at any other time would have been thought natural, or only the effects of poison, raised a report in the world, that the deaths of these two young ladies, as well as their elevation, was the work of the devil,

† She was daughter to Henry I. the prince of Condé, by his first wife, the princess of Nevers, marchioness de l'Isle, &c.

† Peter d'Espinac: he had been a great partisan of the league: however, P. Matthieu assures, that he had done considerable services to Henry IV. against Spain, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 308. where he gives an eulogium of his virtues. M. de Thou, on the contrary, represents him, in book cx. as an incestuous and simoniacal person.

who made them pay for that short felicity he had procured them. And this was certainly believed, not only amongst the people generally credulous to a high degree of folly, but the courtiers themselves: so prevalent at that time was the infection of trading in the occult sciences, and so great was the hatred and envy to these two ladies, on account of the high rank they enjoyed.

THIS is what was related of the constable's † lady, and (as it is said) by the ladies that were then at her house: She was conversing gayly with them in her closet, when one of her women entered in great terror, and told her that a certain person, who called himself a gentleman, and had indeed a good presence, saving that he was quite black, and of a gigantic stature, had just entered her anti-chamber, and desired to speak to her about affairs of great consequence, which he could not communicate to any but her. At every circumstance relating to this extraordinary courier, which the woman was ordered to describe minutely, the lady was seen to turn pale, and was so oppressed with grief, that she could scarce tell her women to intreat the gentleman, in her name, to defer his visit to another time; to which he replied, in a tone that filled the messenger with horror, that since the lady would not come willingly, he would take the trouble to go and seek her in her closet. She, who was still more afraid of a public than a private audience, resolved at last to go to him, but with all the marks of a deep despair.

THE terrible message performed, she returned to her company, bathed in tears and half dead with dismay; she had only time to speak a few words to take leave of them, particularly of three ladies who were her friends, and to assure them that she should never see them more. That instant she was seized with exquisite pains, and died at the end of three

† Louisa de Budos, second wife to Henry, Constable de Montmorency, was daughter to James de Budos, viscount de Portes.

days, inspiring all who saw her with horror at the frightful change of every feature in her face. Of this story the wife thought as they ought to think.

MADAM de Beaufort was the weakest of her sex with regard to divination ; she made no secret of her consulting with astrologers, and always had a great many of them about her, who never quitted her ; and what is most surprizing, although she always, doubtless, paid them well, yet they never foretold her any thing but what was disagreeable* : one said, that she would never be married but once ; another, that she should die young ; a third, that she should take care of being with child ; and a fourth, that she should be betrayed by one of her friends. Hence proceeded that melancholy which oppressed her, and which she could never afterwards get rid of. Gracienne, one of her women, has since told me, that she would retire from all company to pass whole nights in grief, and in weeping on account of these predictions.

BEING then far advanced in her pregnancy, many persons will be at no loss to guess the cause of this misfortune which attended it. She was already greatly indisposed both in body and mind, when, at the latter end of Lent, she was desirous of making one of the party with the king at Fontainebleau : she staid there but a few days. The king who was not willing to incur the censure of keeping this lady with him during the Easter-holidays, intreated her to leave him to spend them at Fontainebleau, and to return herself to Paris †. Madam de Beaufort received this order with tears, it was still worse when they came to part ; Henry, on his side, more pas-

* The weakness of M. de Sully, in believing judicial astrology, discovers itself in a thousand places in his Memoirs, in spite of all his caution.

† According to P. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 316. she came to Paris, in order to have the articles of the purchase of Chateaufort in Ferche expedited,

sionately fond than ever of this lady, who had already brought him two sons, and a daughter, named Henrietta, did himself equal violence. He conducted her half-way to Paris †; and although they proposed only an absence of a few days, yet they dreaded the moment of parting, as if it had been for a much longer time. Those who are inclined to give faith to presages will lay some stress upon this relation. The two lovers several times renewed their parting endearments, and in every thing they said to each other at that moment, some people have pretended to find proofs of those presages of an inevitable fate.

MADAM de Beaufort spoke to the king as if for the last time †; she recommended to him her children, her house of Monceaux, and her domestics: the king listened to her, but, instead of comforting her, gave way to a sympathizing grief. Again they took leave of each other, and a secret emotion again drew them to each other's arms. Henry would not so easily have torn himself from her, if the marshal d'Ornano, Roquelaure, and Frontenac, had not taken him away by force. At length they prevailed upon him to return to Fountainbleau; and the last words he said was, to recommend his mistress to the conduct of la Varenne, with orders to provide every thing she wanted, and to conduct her safely to the house of Zamet, to whom he had chosen to confide the care of a person so dear to him.

I WAS at Paris when the duchess of Beaufort arrived there; and intending to go with my wife a few days after to receive the communion at Rosny, whither I carried the prince and princess of Orange, to whom I was desirous of shewing the new buildings which the king's liberality had enabled me to

† At Melun she lay the day before, whence the king conducted her to the boat in which she embarked to come down to the arsenal.

‡ D'Aubigné speaks in the same manner of this parting, tom. liv. v. ch. 3.

raise there; I thought I was under a necessity of waiting upon this lady to take my leave of her. She no longer remembered any thing that had passed at Saint-Germain, but gave me a most obliging reception: not daring to explain herself clearly upon that compliance with her projects to which she so ardently wished to bring me, she contented herself with endeavouring to engage me in her interests, by mingling with those civilities which she shewed but to few persons, words that carried a double sense, and hinted to me a boundless grandeur, if I would relax a little of the severity of my counsels to the king with regard to her. I, who was as little moved with the chimera's that filled her head, as with those she thought to inspire me with, pretended not to understand any part of a discourse so intelligible; and answered her in equivocal terms with general protestations of respect, attachment, and devotion; which signify what one will.

AT my return home, I desired my wife to pay the same compliment to the duchess: she was received with equal tenderness: madam de Beaufort intreating her to love her, and to be with her as a friend, entered into confidences; that would have seemed the last instance of the most intimate friendship to those that, like madam de Rosny, were ignorant that the duchess, who had no great share of understanding, was not very delicate in the choice of her confidants: it was her highest pleasure, to entertain any person she first saw with her schemes and expectations; and the more those she conversed with were her inferiors, the less restraint she laid on herself; for then she no longer guarded her expressions, and often assumed the airs of a queen.

SHE had as little caution with respect to what really happened, as to what she was in expectation would happen; too much simplicity on such occasions gave rise probably to those reports which were spread in the world concerning some irregularities in
her

her conduct when she was very young. These censures, however, appeared to me to be the mere effect of the malice of her enemies; for it could not be imagined that a woman would carry her imprudence and folly so far as to say both good and ill of herself indifferently; and I never thought I had any reason to reproach myself with having, for six years, confined a woman named la Rouse, who was one of her servants, and her husband in the Bastie, who, after the death of this lady, continued to load her memory with the utmost infamy: for although all they said had been true, yet the respect that was due to her family, and still more to the tenderness the king had for her and the children she brought him, ought to have silenced their slanders.

MADAM de Rosny could not help being surprized at the duchess's discourse, and was still more so, when this lady making an aukward assemblage of the civilities which are practised between equals, and these airs of a queen, told her she might come to her *coucher* and *lever*, whenever she pleased; and many other speeches of the same kind. My wife, as well as every one else, concluded there would be a great change in the duchess's fortune, and returned home full of these reflections, which she communicated to me. I had not even disclosed to my wife what had passed between the king and me upon this subject, as well as the scene at St. Germain: I promised her to acquaint her with the true state of things, provided she would not tell the princess of Orange what madam de Beaufort had said to her; and we set out together for Rosny.

Two days after, which was the Saturday before Easter, as I was performing my promise to madam de Rosny, and acquainting her with the duchess's design to get herself declared queen, all the practices of her relations and dependents for that purpose, the struggles the king had in his own mind, and the resolution he had at length taken to overcome himself,
adding

adding some reflections upon the calamities which a contrary conduct would bring upon the kingdom, I heard the bell of the first gate of the castle without the mote ring; and none of my servants answering, as it was yet scarcely day, the bell was rung with more violence, and a voice several times repeated, *I come from the king*. Immediately I wakened a footman, and while he went to open the gate, I slipped on a night-gown, and ran down stairs, greatly alarmed at being sent to so early in the morning.

THE courier said that he had travelled all night to tell me that the king desired I would come instantly to Fontainebleau: his countenance had so deep a concern on it that I asked him if the king was ill? "No, he replied, but he is in the utmost affliction; madam the duchess is dead." The news appeared to me so improbable that I made him repeat it several times; and when convinced that it was true, I felt my mind divided between my grief for the condition to which her death reduced the king, and my joy for the advantage all France would gain by it, which was increased by my being fully persuaded in my own mind, that the king, by this transitory sorrow, would purchase a release from a thousand anxieties, and much more anguish of heart than what he now actually suffered: I went up again to my wife's chamber full of these reflections, "You will neither go to the duchess's *coucher* nor *lever*," said I. "for she is dead." I brought the courier up with me, that while I drest, and he breakfasted, he might inform us of all the circumstances of this great event, which was still better related in the letter la Varenne had written from Paris to the king, and which his majesty sent me by the courier, together with a second from la Varenne, directed to myself.

ZAMET *, had received his guest with all the at-

† Sebastian Zamet, a rich private gentleman, was an Italian, a native of Lucca: but he got himself naturalized in 1581, together with

fiduity of a courtier who is solicitous to please, and neglected nothing which he thought might contribute to make her pass the time agreeably. On Maundy-Thursday madam de Beaufort after dinner, where she had eaten of the greatest delicacies, and all prepared to her taste, had an inclination to hear the evening service at St. Anthony the Less: she was there seized with fainting fits, which obliged her to be carried back immediately to Zamet's. As soon as she arrived she went into the garden, and was immediately attacked with an apoplectic fit, which it was expected would have instantly stifled her. She recovered a little, through the assistance they gave her; and strongly possessed with a notion that she was poisoned*, commanded them to carry her from that house to madam de Sourdis her aunt, who lived in the cloister Saint-Germain.

SCARCE had they time to put her in bed when thick succeeding convulsions, so dreadful as amazed all that were present, and in a word all the symptoms of approaching death, left Varenne, who had taken up the pen to write the king word of the accident that had happened, nothing else to say but that the physicians all dispaired of his mistress's life, by the nature of her distemper, which required the most violent remedies, and the circumstance of her being far gone with child, which made all applications

his two brothers Horace and John Antony. He desired the notary who drew up his daughter's contract of marriage, to style him lord of seventeen hundred thousand crowns. Henry IV. had pitched on his house for his meals and parties of pleasure: this prince besides loved him because he was a facetious and merry man.

* D'Aubigné gives us to understand this, when he says, that after she had refreshed herself with Zamet, by eating a large citron, or, according to others, a salad, "she immediately felt such an inflammation in her throat, and such violent twitchings in her stomach, that," &c. But neither de Thou, Bassompierre, le Septennarie, nor any other historian, imputes her disorder to poison. Le Grain ascribes it to the crude and cold justice of the citron. Sauval says, that he knew some old men who remembered to have seen the duchess lie in state in the nunnery of Saint-Germain,

mortal †. Scarce had he sent away the letter when madam de Beaufort drawing near her last moments, was seized with new convulsions which turned her black, and disfigured her so horribly, that la Varenne, not doubting but the king, upon the receipt of his letter, would set out immediately to see his mistress, thought it better to send him word in a second billet that she was dead, than to expose him to a spectacle at once so dreadful and afflicting as that of a woman whom he tenderly loved, expiring in agitation, struggles, and agonies, that left hardly any thing of human in her figure.

LA Varenne, in the letter he sent me by the same courier, informed me that the duchess was not dead, but by what he could judge had not an hour to live*; in effect she expired in a few moment after, in a general subversion of all the functions of nature capable of inspiring horror and dismay. The king, who upon the receipt of la Varenne's first letter, had not failed to mount his horse immediately, received the second when he was got half way to Paris, and listening to nothing but the excess of his passion, was resolved, notwithstanding all that could be said to him, to give himself the consolation of seeing his mistress ‡

† “The physician la Riviere came in great haste upon this occasion,” says d’Aubigné, “with others of the king’s physicians, and entering but three steps into her chamber, when he saw the extraordinary condition she was in, went away saying to his brother physicians, This is the hand of God.” Tom. III. liv. v. c. 3.

* Saturday morning, the convulsions had writhed her mouth to the back of her neck. Her body was opened, in which a dead child was found. See concerning this death, M. de Thou, liv. cxxii. Matthieu, *ibid.* Le Grain, liv. vii. Le Septennarie, ann. 1599. Mem. de Bassompierre. De Thou, Matthieu, and Bassompierre, place her death a day sooner.

‡ According to Bassompierre, who speaks of it as being an eyewitness, Henry did not believe that his mistress was yet dead. He says that la Varenne having come to acquaint the marechal d’Ornano and him, who had accompanied the duchess to Paris, that she was just dead, they both took horse in order to bring the melancholy news to the king, and keep him from coming to Paris. “We found,” says he, “the king on the other side of la Sauffaye, near Vilejuif, coming on post horses with all expedition. As soon as he saw the

once more, dead as he believed her to be. The same persons that had carried him back the first time to Fontainebleau, prevailed upon him by their arguments and intreaties to go back once more, and it was from this place that he dispatched the courier to me.

I DID not lose a moment, I breakfasted at Poissy, and dined at Paris. I made use of the archbishop of Glasgow's coach to carry me as far as Essonne, from whence I took post, and at night got to Fontainebleau. I went immediately to the king, who was walking in a gallery sunk in an excess of grief that

“marechal, he suspected that he came to bring him the news, which as soon as he heard he made great lamentation for her. At length they prevailed with him to go into the abbey la Saussaye, where they laid him upon a bed: when at last a coach coming from Paris, they put him into it, in order to return to Fontainebleau.” Mem. de Bassompierre, tom. I. p. 69 & seq. Le Grain adds, that he fainted away in his coach between the arms of the grand ecuyer or master of the horse.

Without attempting in any respect to justify the excessive fondness Henry IV. had for this woman, justice however obliges us to observe here, that this attachment was no less founded on the good qualities of her heart and mind than the beauty of her person, and that only the antipathy which is commonly borne towards such as are in the same condition, makes people say all the ill of her that we see related in these Memoirs and in the other historians. I will conclude this article with what d'Aubigné says, who is a writer that is naturally more inclined to blame than to commend. “It is a wonder,” says he, “how this woman, whose great beauty had nothing of the loose turn in it, could have lived rather like a queen than a mistress for so many years, and that with so few enemies. The necessities of state were the only enemies she had to encounter.” He had said before, that she used with great moderation her power over the king: and P. Matthieu adds, to the good qualities which he remarks in this lady, that of having often given very good counsel to Henry IV. *ibid.* “She would not suffer any other person near her,” says le Grain also, liv. viii. “though the sieur de Liancourt, was a man of great merit and of a very honourable family, inso- much that this marriage was dissolved before it was consummated.” Some accounts of that time speak of Nicholas d'Amerval, sieur de Liancourt, as a person of a truly distinguished birth and of a very plentiful fortune; but whose mind, say they, was as badly formed as his body. Mademoiselle d'Estreès married him only to get rid of the tyrannical treatment she received from her father, and because the king promised her that he would hinder the consummation of the marriage, and even dissolve it: which he actually did,

made all company insupportable: he told me that, although he expected the sight of me would at first increase his affliction, as in effect it did, yet he was sensible that in the condition, to which the loss he had suffered had reduced him, he had so much need of consolation, that he did not hesitate a moment to send for me to receive an assistance I only could give.

WITH a prince equally sensible of what he owed to religious and political duties, I was not at a loss for resources from whence to derive arguments to calm his sorrow. I recalled to his remembrance some of those passages in the holy scriptures, wherein God as a father and master requires that confidence and perfect resignation, the effect of which is to inspire a christian with a contempt for all sublunary things; to which I added such as might incite to the acknowledgments and adoration of divine providence, as well in deep misfortunes as unexpected success. I made no scruple to represent to Henry, that the accident which now gave him all this affliction, was among the number of those which he would one day look upon as most fortunate. I endeavoured to place him in imagination in that painful, and (if his mistress had lived) unavoidable situation, when, on one side struggling with the force of a tender and violent passion, and on the other with the silent convictions of what honour and duty required of him, he would be under an absolute necessity of coming to some resolution, with regard to an engagement, which he could not break without torture, or preserve without infamy. Heaven, I told him, came to his assistance by a stroke, painful indeed, but which could only open the way to a marriage, upon which depended the tranquility of France, the happiness of his people, the fate of Europe, and his own good, to whom the blessing of a lawful union would always appear too dearly purchased, by the desertion of a woman, who, by a thousand good qualities, was worthy of his affection.

I EASILY perceived that this last argument, enforced in a manner advantageous to his mistress, made an impression upon Henry's heart, by the soothing pleasure it gave him to hear his choice approved of. He confessed to me, that it was some relief to him to find me placing his attachment for the duchess of Beaufort among the number of those that are formed by a real sympathy of minds, and not on mere libertinism; and that he had been apprehensive I would have no other ways endeavoured to comfort him, than by rendering him ashamed of his passion for her. The first conversation was very long. I do not remember every thing I said to the king. All I know is that, after having first applied those gentle soothing things that affliction demands, the continuance of which I opposed by arguments drawn from the necessity all princes and persons in any public character are under, of preserving, even in the most reasonable sorrows, that freedom of mind requisite for affairs of state; Henry had not the weakness of resigning himself up to grief through obstinacy*, or of seeking a cure in insensibility. He listened more to the dictates of his reason than his passion, and already appeared much less afflicted to those persons who entered his chamber. At length every one being careful not to renew his grief, which his daily employments gradually diminished, he found himself in that state in which all wise men ought to be who have had great subjects of affliction, that is, neither condemning, nor flattering, the cause, nor affecting neither to recall or banish the remembrance of it.

JOYEUSE likewise employed the public attention, having from a soldier and courtier † become a capu-

* Henry IV. made all the court go into mourning for the death of the duchess of Beaufort. He himself was dressed in black for the first eight days, and afterwards in violet. Mem. de Chiverny.

† Henry de Joyeuse, count de Bouchage, and youngest brother to the duke de Joyeuse, was slain at Coutras. " One day at four in the morning, as he was passing through the streets of Paris near the
" convent

chin, and afterwards from a capuchin become again a soldier and a courtier, he resumed his inclination for the frock, which it was pretended the pope had only during the war granted him a dispensation for quitting; and this time he wore it till his death. The marriage of his daughter †, the sole heiress of the family of Joyeuse, with the duke of Montpensier, was the last action of his public life. The marchioness de Bellisle *, after his example, took the habit of a nun, of the order of Saint Bernard.

“ convent of the capuchins, after he had spent the night in a debauch,
 “ he imagined that he heard angels singing the matins in the convent :
 “ at which being much affected, he immediately turned capuchin
 “ under the name of Frere-Ange. Afterwards he quitted the frock,
 “ and carried arms against Henry IV. at which time the duke de
 “ Maine made him governor of Languedoc, a duke, peer, and mare-
 “ chal of France. At last he made his peace with the king: but one
 “ day this prince being with him on a balcony, under which was a
 “ great number of people assembled together. Cousin, says Henry IV.
 “ to him, this multitude seems to me to be very contented and easy at
 “ seeing together an apostate and a renegado. This saying of the
 “ king’s made such an impression on Joyeuse, that he entered again
 “ into his convent, where he died.” This anecdote is taken from
 the notes on the *Henriade*.

† *Henrietta Catherine de Joyeuse*. There did not survive of this marriage but one daughter, whereby the branch of Bourbon Montpensier became extinct.

* *Antonieta d’Orleans-Longueville* was the widow of *Charles de Gondy* marquis of *Bellisle*, and eldest son of the *marechal de Retz*. *Mezeray* informs us that the reason of her turning was the mortification she received by not being able to revenge the death of her husband; a soldier whom she had employed for this purpose having been taken and hanged, for she could not obtain his pardon of the king. The marquis de *Bellisle* had been killed in 1596 at *Mount-Saint-Michel*, by a gentleman of *Bretagne*, called *Kermartin*. *L’Etoile* speaks of her as a woman who was much admired by all the court, on account of her beauty and understanding, and as an eminent example of devotion and penitence in her convent.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.









